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Essays offered to Herbert Putnam

ESSAYS OFFERED TO

HERBERT PUTNAM

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HERBERT PUTNAM

BY HIS COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS
ON HIS THIRTIETH ANNIVERSARY
AS LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS
5 APRIL 1929

EDITED BY
WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP
AND ANDREW KEOGH

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TO HERBERT PUTNAM

On behalf of the contributors to this anniversary volume, and of many others who were unable thus to give their tribute of regard and admiration, the editors present to you these essays on the completion of your thirty years as Librarian of Congress. They are both a review of your own professional career and (in effect) a summary of much of contemporary opinion on matters of librarianship, with some historical contributions by no means foreign to the craft. If the essays represent a wide variety of interests and of persons they but reflect the catholicity of your own spirit which has welcomed and fostered the most various forms of intellectual activity.

It has been a pleasure to gather and publish these essays. We hope that you will accept them for just what they are—our spontaneous and sincere tribute to your leadership for a generation.

WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP
ANDREW KEOGH

5 APRIL 1929.

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THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY SIMEON D. FESS

OF the many institutions of great importance located at the seat of the national Government, the Library of Congress is one of the most outstanding.

Its growth under its present head, Dr. Herbert Putnam, is most gratifying. When first inaugurated it was intended to serve the legislative branch of the Government. Today its service extends to the executive and judicial departments, and in a larger sense reaches the entire American reading public.

The organization is complete, a splendid example of real public service to the intellectual claims of our people. Each year, through the efficient and constructive planning of its head, additions are being made. The collections are rapidly reaching first rank in the world. The additions to the facilities for public service are annually increasing until the Library of Congress is now conceded to be the most important unit in the world's largest center of scholarship.

One of the farthest reaching additions is the Library Trust Fund Commission, authorized to receive funds for specific purposes to enlarge the realm of library service. In the short time of its existence already two million dollars have been contributed for these purposes. The possibilities of this new field are unlimited.

One of the main features will doubtless be the realization of friends of genuine scholarship in making Washington the greatest center of research in the world. With due respect to his predecessors, the Library of Congress is but the lengthening shadow of a great administrator, Dr. Herbert Putnam.

HERBERT PUTNAM

BY THEODORE E. BURTON

I HAVE been very familiar with the work of Mr. Herbert Putnam as Librarian of Congress since April 18, 1899. During the summer of 1899, I spent much of my time in the Representatives' Reading Room of the library, and can say for myself, as well as other members of Congress, that Mr. Putnam gave constant assistance to us in our studies. His appointment marked the beginning of a new epoch in the usefulness of the library. He brought to the task very marked executive ability and an appreciation of what one of the world's greatest libraries should be.

During his long period of service, he has introduced very many reforms. It is especially true that he has enlarged the scope of the work of the library. The number of students and those engaged in research work who have resorted to the library or obtained assistance from it has been multiplied. The Legislative Reference Division is now of inestimable value to members of Congress. Index cards are issued for a small cost to libraries, more than two thousand in number, giving material on various subjects. The Bibliographical Division prepares typewritten lists of books and articles on selected subjects—economics, politics, etc. The Division of Manuscripts has received very large and valuable additions of papers affording a perfect mine of information on the history of the United States. Provision has been made in the way of desks for a number of students, located near to the alcoves containing books on the subjects which they are considering. A list has been prepared of rare books which are to be found only in a very few libraries and, when a demand for these exists, information can be obtained from the library.

I repeat that the work of Dr. Putnam has been characterized by very rare executive ability and a progressive spirit which has made of the Library of Congress an institution far more valuable, not merely to Congress, but to the country at large.

HERBERT PUTNAM

BY FREDERICK H. GILLETT

I HAVE been in a position to observe intimately Dr. Putnam's work, ever since he was appointed Librarian of Congress, and I am confident that the more closely anyone watched his career the more it would be appreciated and admired. He has, in his term, revolutionized the whole spirit and scope of the institution, and converted it from a mere reference library for Congressmen and a stagnant reservoir of books into a truly national library, gradually extending its service into every line of literary and intellectual activity. That seems to me Dr. Putnam's greatest achievement, elevating and broadening the whole purpose of the institution, and vivifying it with a broad educational impulse.

His methods have been as remarkable as his result. Only those who are familiar with the conflicting outlooks and prejudices of members of Congress can appreciate the difficulty of steering successfully through its shifting committees any novel project. Yet Dr. Putnam was entirely dependent on the approval of Congress for his innovations, and his success is a great tribute, not only to his exalted conceptions, but also to the unfailing tact and wisdom and persuasive argument with which he presented and pressed his reforms. He won by degrees the confidence and coöperation of those who at first were antagonistic or skeptical, and everyone now respects and applauds his fine character, his broad vision, his disinterested fidelity, his unvarying courtesy, his sleepless energy, and his prescient sagacity. The whole nation is under obligation to him for the helpful institution which he has developed.

January 23, 1929.

MR. PUTNAM AND THE MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY

BY GRATIA A. COUNTRYMAN

WHEN Minneapolis was very young, just fourteen years after the struggling village was named, it made its first beginning of a library. The original funds were derived from a lecture by Bayard Taylor. This modest beginning was incorporated in 1860 as the Minneapolis Athenaeum. Its support came from stockholders and subscribers. As the years passed, it acquired a building of its own and received a large bequest which was to be used for the purchase of books. It grew through the sixties and seventies into a creditable library and finally outgrew its quarters.

When the directors, along in 1883, began to consider seriously what should be done with the library and how it could be developed into such a library as the city deserved, and how a new building to house it properly could be financed, a strong public interest was aroused. The city wanted a public library.

Minneapolis was at this period a very self-conscious, ambitious, young city which firmly believed in its own future greatness. It was growing rapidly in size and in commercial importance. It wanted to offer to its citizens as rich an opportunity for culture as the older cities, and a public library seemed indispensable.

Just at this time the Athenaeum directors appointed a cultured young Harvard man as librarian. Mr. Herbert Putnam came with an unusually fine background of book knowledge, and with an acquaintance with eastern libraries and their methods. He began his new work in October, 1884, with energy and enthusiasm.

He could not have entered the city at a more opportune time, and the Athenaeum directors could not have found a man with more ability to solve their problems. He identified himself at once with all of the educational projects of the city, and brought the vigor and keenness of his active mind to the solution of his own task with a clear vision of its possibilities.

There were other active movements besides the library going on in the city. The Minnesota Academy of Science was discussing the necessity of a building to house its growing museum. The directors of the Society of Fine Arts, which had been organized the previous year and had held a very successful loan exhibition, were considering how and where they could establish a permanent art exhibit.

There seemed to be, just at the moment of Mr. Putnam's arrival, a cumulative development of interest along various lines which had not related themselves to each other. It needed the work of a leader to bring committees from each of these organizations together to discuss the possibility of a common building to house them all, and later to propose to the city council that it be made a municipal undertaking. He was that leader.

Within two months of Mr. Putnam's coming, the Athenaeum directors had given up the plan of building their own building and had proposed an alliance with a municipal library if one were established, and the other organizations, working together with the city council, had agreed upon the proposition of a building which should house the Academy of Science and the Society of Fine Arts in a public library building. The plan was enthusiastically supported by everyone.

An act of the state legislature was necessary, and this act in the shape of an amendment to the Minneapolis charter was passed the following February. And so within six months a

free public library was established, a public library board was appointed, and the project launched. When the law establishing the Minneapolis Library was published, Mr. W. F. Poole of Chicago said of it that "the terms of this library law are new and very important, showing more legislative intelligence than any library bill ever before enacted by any State."

Mr. Putnam's first six months of library service had therefore been most productive, for in all of the conferences which brought about such a satisfactory conclusion, he had been the moving spirit. And he was to continue to be the leading spirit through the following years while the new building was being planned and constructed and through the years of organization of a new public library.

But, in the meantime, he was librarian of the Athenaeum Library. He began at the start to modernize its antiquated methods; he installed a charging system with a borrower's card instead of the old way of charging in a big book. He began a new system of cataloguing and classification, and opened up the alcoves to readers so that they could find titles for themselves. Not only were his methods new and thoroughgoing, but his courteous, genial manner created a new atmosphere in the shabby old library.

In the frequent interviews given in the local papers about this time, his ideas of a library, and its relation to its readers were as modern in spirit and as forward looking as anything that could be written now, nearly forty-five years later. For instance, this young man who was administering his first library in a small upstairs room says, "There are two great problems of library management, one to get the books for the readers, the other to get the readers to the books." One cannot even now add much to that statement. So, in these preliminary years, he was interpreting a library to his readers and teaching them, with ability, tact, and public spirit, how to use it.

The book fund of the Athenaeum accruing from the bequest fund was comparatively large for that time, and this fund was allowed to accumulate for several years until in 1888, the Athenaeum Board and the Public Library Board commissioned him to go abroad to buy books.

He was elected librarian of the Public Library in November, 1888, while still remaining librarian of the Athenaeum Library and carrying on its daily work. It must have been an exciting experience to be advising with the Library Board about the new building, to be choosing and buying the books for a new public library, to be planning its rules and regulations and organizing all the details of opening an entirely new venture, and planning the moving and placement of the Athenaeum Library in the new building.

The new building opened in December, 1889, and the people who had eagerly looked forward to this event showed their appreciation by thronging into it. The staff was new and inexperienced, the book supply was inadequate to the unexpected demand, and the people themselves were unused to the methods and could not understand delays and disappointments. Only the tact and the sympathetic hearing and explanation of all complaints on the part of Mr. Putnam saved the reputation of the new library service during that first winter. One newspaper article, at this time, entitled "Librarian Criticises Himself," gave Mr. Putnam the opportunity to analyze all the complaints and criticisms of rules, and to answer and explain them in his clear and kindly way. He modified rules and simplified methods and red tape whenever it could be done to the advantage of readers without weakening service.

Minneapolis, although young at this time, was rapidly spreading out over a large territory, and there was an immediate request for branches in several localities. Mr. Putnam was in great sympathy with extension of library facilities and

within the first year two branches were established with reading rooms and delivery service from the Central Library. A third branch was established the second year, and these three branches are now housed in buildings of their own and are still in strategic localities. Mr. Putnam began the rudiments of our present classroom libraries and school station system by loaning collections to the teachers and, if there had been sufficient funds, his plans would have been far more extensive and varied.

Looking back over the development of the past forty years, it is hard to find any undertakings of later years which were not foreshadowed by the things he started or planned to start. Indeed, in the light of these years, he must be counted as one of the leaders who shaped the intellectual mold of Minneapolis.

His resignation, which took effect January 1, 1892, was received with dismay by the people of the city. The resolution passed by the Library Board expressed the estimation in which they held him:

> His knowledge of books, his patient attention to all the details of official duty, his unfailing courtesy, his readiness to attend to the wishes of all the patrons of the library, have made him a most excellent librarian, have commanded the admiration of the Board and have endeared him to the people of our city.

He entered upon his duties in the Athenaeum Library at the most auspicious moment, when his vision and wisdom were most timely in coördinating the various organizations into one large municipal enterprise. He established the work and organized the details and trained an eager public in the use and privileges of a public library. He laid strong foundations, upon which others could build. The mantle of his spirit is still over the Minneapolis Public Library.

THE LIBRARY SERVICE OF HERBERT PUTNAM IN BOSTON

BY CHARLES F. D. BELDEN

THE year 1895 is a memorable one in the annals of the Public Library of the city of Boston. During the first week of February in that year, the doors of the library's monumental new building in Copley Square were opened to the public and on the eleventh of the month, Herbert Putnam, a young man of thirty-three, walked into the building as its new librarian. Since the retirement of Judge Mellen Chamberlain in 1890, the library administration had been marking time. The attention of the trustees was absorbed in the construction of the new building and for only a portion of this period of more than four years was there even nominally a librarian. In casting about for the man who should take the library at this juncture and lead it into a larger life worthy of the noble building just completed, the trustees were fortunate in discovering Mr. Putnam, then engaged in the practice of law in Boston, after seven years of library work in Minneapolis. This opportunity was a unique one. The first great municipal library building in the country was placed in Mr. Putnam's hands, as a frame into which the oldest of large American public libraries was to be fitted. Thanks to his wisdom and skill, in a brief period of four years, the library expanded to fill the frame and almost outgrew it; and in making a modern institution of the Boston Public Library, he pointed the way for other libraries all over the country. From the time of his appointment, Mr. Putnam was given a free hand and the wholehearted support of the Board of Trustees. His four years of administration gave daily proof of the wisdom of his selec-

tion. Quiet, alert, industrious, he saw unerringly the next thing to be done; he inspired confidence in both trustees and staff, and his power of achievement always kept step with his vision.

The year 1895 saw many changes in the service of the library. The Children's Room—then called "The Juvenile Room"—equipped with suitable tables, chairs, and books, which was a feature of the original plans for the library, is believed to have been the first room wholly devoted to service for children in any of the larger public libraries of the country. This service was rapidly extended to the branches, and before the close of the year the *Special List of Books for the Young,* consisting of nearly a thousand titles, had been issued. Mr. Putnam planned to have the volumes in this list placed in open cases where they could be handled without formality, in every one of the nine branches, as well as at the Central Library. Coöperation with the schools also received a new impetus. The exchange of books between the branches and the Central Library and the inter-library loan arrangement with other libraries, were greatly extended and encouraged. The Special Libraries Department, now one of the outstanding features of the institution, was organized, and a separate newspaper room was opened for the first time. The hour from nine until ten in the evening was added to the library day. This first year of Mr. Putnam's administration was further signalized by the establishment of a carefully conceived and worked-out system of grading for the employees of the library and by the reorganization of the Sunday and evening service on a better basis.

During the following years there was a marked development of the branch library system. When Mr. Putnam assumed charge, there were nine branches and twelve delivery stations. At the end of his four years, there were ten branches, five minor branches called "Reading Rooms," and fifty-six

deposit stations. The direct home circulation increased from 832,113 in 1894 to 1,245,842 in 1898. The library grew from a total of 610,375 volumes at the close of 1894 to 716,050 at the close of 1898.

In 1896 the office of Library Editor was created and the quarterly bulletin was replaced by a monthly bulletin. In 1898 the publication of the *Annual List of New Books* was begun. In the same year was organized the Department of Documents and Statistics, with Worthington C. Ford, late Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the Treasury Department at Washington, as its head. In this year also the unification of the branch book classification was undertaken.

It was not long before the practical eye of Mr. Putnam perceived that the arrangement of the magnificent new building was inefficient at many points. With the backing of the trustees and the municipal authorities, he carried out, during his last year, a number of changes in the building, making possible a transfer of certain departments to more convenient quarters, and resulting in greatly smoothing and expediting the work of the library.

During his all-too-brief term of service in the Boston Public Library, Mr. Putnam succeeded in modernizing the whole library system. The time was opportune for the introduction of new methods and fresh blood and the creation and the development of new departments. Additional branches were established and a new spirit was infused into those already existing. Deposit stations were opened, persistent emphasis was placed on work for children, which in 1890 was practically a new development in library practice; but quite as important as these external changes was a general quickening and tightening up of service throughout the library system.

The extension of greater recognition to women in library work was a significant feature of Mr. Putnam's administration. Women were freely advanced or appointed to positions

which, a few years previously, they were thought to be incapable of filling. It was the policy of the young and active administrator to place responsibility firmly on the shoulders of his staff. He encouraged the heads of departments in showing initiative. With frank but kindly criticism, he spurred his senior officers and other employees to their best efforts. Under his leadership no labor seemed too great, no obstacle too hard to be overcome. His moderation, fairness, and impersonality also contributed to Mr. Putnam's success in meeting the problems with which he was confronted. Freedom of opinion and the privilege of expressing it without prejudice proved a safeguard and corrective against those outbreaks of dissatisfaction which are always possible in a large staff made up of men and women of marked individuality. Not only his fellow officers on the staff of the institution, but the rank and file caught fire from his glowing enthusiasm and gave him unstinted homage and admiration. Such were the ability, industry, and persistence of Mr. Putnam, that those who worked under him still think of the experience as "a liberal education."

The following minute is to be found in the official records of the Board of Trustees under date of March 24, 1899:

> In accepting the resignation of Mr. Herbert Putnam as Librarian, the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston desire to put upon their records the following votes:
>
> That they recognize the harmonious and helpful relations between the Librarian and the Trustees from the day he accepted the office; the remarkable administrative qualities he has shown—in directing the alterations by which the Library Building has been so well fitted for its purposes—in increasing to so large a degree the interest the public takes in the Library, until today it has a larger constituency than any other—in instituting so successfully the work of the Public Library in connection with the Public Schools—and in making the public realize that this institution created and supported by it, really belongs to it, and needs its ever-enlarging patronage and generosity.

That they appreciate the feeling which leads Mr. Putnam, at much personal sacrifice, to give up his position here to take charge of the Congressional Library at Washington, and his desire to make it the culmination of the Library system of this country, and in time one of the great Libraries of the world.

That their highest regard goes with him in the difficult work he is about to assume, and their faith in his gifts to bring it to the most successful issues.

The nation and all its libraries have profited greatly from the creative work done by Mr. Putnam as Librarian of Congress. The Public Library of the city of Boston takes pride in the thought that it gave him to the nation, and that his fruitful four years in Boston helped in training him for his great career of service in Washington.

THE APPOINTMENT OF HERBERT PUTNAM AS LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS

BY R. R. BOWKER

HONOR to Herbert Putnam! The best service for the library profession in which I have participated since the organization of the American Library Association was when associated with Librarian Lane of Harvard in the conference with President McKinley which resulted in Herbert Putnam's appointment as Librarian of Congress in 1899. To the energy, firmness, and tact of William Coolidge Lane, President of the American Library Association for the year 1898-99, is largely due the benefit of that selection.

Ainsworth R. Spofford had been Librarian of Congress since 1864 in the overcrowded library room on the west side of the Capitol building, where books were stacked on the floor with no other guide than Mr. Spofford's memory to find them. In 1897, after thirty-three years of valuable service, he retired from the post of librarian, which then included the direct administration of the Copyright Office. It was Mr. Spofford's too frequent habit when copyright remittances came in to thrust them into a drawer set apart for this purpose. There they might remain for weeks or months and this naturally resulted in much misunderstanding and some blame. In 1897 the office of Register of Copyrights was created, within the jurisdiction of the Librarian of Congress, to relieve the higher official of copyright details, and Thorvald Solberg was then appointed to the position which he has since so well filled.

On the retirement of Mr. Spofford, John Russell Young, a well-known journalist with many Washington friends, was

appointed to the post of Librarian of Congress by President McKinley, though he had no library training or special equipment for the work. It was understood that Mr. Putnam had been suggested, but that he had declined to be considered for the post. The library was then in course of removal to its superb new home under the capable direction of Bernard R. Green. Mr. Young died on January 17, 1899.

The position of Librarian of Congress was generally considered a political appointment and no trained librarian offered himself or was proposed for the post. Another candidate, who held a minor office within the library, was the son of a veteran New York politician, and his proposal was seconded by Theodore Roosevelt, then Governor of New York, partly because he was a New York man and probably because Mr. Roosevelt had a vague idea that this would be a promotion in line with good civil service practice. Some time after, when Governor Roosevelt came to New York, I took him to task for this mistake, to which he manfully owned up, as was his wont. Six years later, while President, he desired the post of Public Printer to be filled by a man who would bring the great machine of the Government Printing Office into accord with the best civil service administration and wrote me to ask as to certain people who were in mind. In replying, I twitted him regarding his recommendation for the librarianship, which brought out the response by the next mail: "Lord, how I do wish I could get some such person as Putnam for the head of the office!"

The day after Mr. Young's death, Samuel J. Barrows, a resident of Massachusetts and a member of the expiring Congress, a man of some literary acquirements and political experience, sent a letter to Mr. Lane saying that his name had already been presented to the President by Secretary Long, who was also a Massachusetts man, and asking Mr. Lane's support. As President of the American Library Association,

Mr. Lane replied in a careful and courteous letter, stating that he could not comply with Mr. Barrows' request since the library profession emphasized the importance of library training and experience in that position. Meantime President Lane took pains to obtain the views of members of the Council individually, and on January 23 he wrote, as President of the Association, to President McKinley a letter emphasizing the importance of the post and of a librarian of training and experience in it, a letter which now proves to have been a prophecy of what might be the development of the national library under such a librarian as he described; and on January 30 a memorial from the Council, to the same effect, was sent to President McKinley.

An appointment was made with the President, I think through Senator Lodge, for Saturday morning, February 4, when the "Federal Express" was to bring Mr. Lane to Washington, where I was asked to meet him. I had previously arrived at Washington and went early to the White House and there found in the crowded anteroom Senator Lodge and Mr. Barrows. In conversation with the latter, I told him frankly that the members of the Association favored a trained librarian for the post if one could be had, but that in default of such his candidacy seemed preferable to that of others; and Mr. Barrows replied as frankly that if such a librarian were in the running he would not himself be a candidate. This casual remark was not borne out in later developments, though apparently sincere at the time. As the hour wore on, Senator Lodge urged me to see the President without waiting for Mr. Lane, but as I thought I was not known to him or, if known, possibly as more or less a political opponent, and as Mr. Lane was the proper official representative, I demurred. At last, however, it seemed necessary that I should do so and I said at once to the President, who, as always, was most kindly in manner, that the proper person to bring the matter

to his attention was not myself but President Lane, who had failed to keep the appointment only because the express from Boston was late. The President was most courteous and said that he had a luncheon appointment at two o'clock which he must keep, but if I could find Mr. Lane before that time he would give word to the doorkeeper that we should be admitted after reception hours and he would gladly take up the matter with us. On that word I left the presence of the President of the United States to make search for our own missing President.

After leaving word for Mr. Lane at the hotel and elsewhere on my way, I went to the old Pennsylvania Station and searched the waiting-room, without finding Mr. Lane. In fact, he was there, talking at the moment with Mr. Solberg where I failed to see him, and my nearsightedness and his preoccupation nearly cost us the interview and, as later proved, nearly lost the appointment of Herbert Putnam and the great benefit to the country and the library world which has come from that appointment.

Within the hour, however, Mr. Lane and I found each other and we rushed in the waiting cab to the White House, where the President had not forgotten his promise, so that we were at once taken to his office. He greeted Mr. Lane, as he had myself, most affably. When we spoke of the unsuitableness of the appointment which Governor Roosevelt had urged, he smiled with a significance that left nothing more to be said. When we urged the importance of a trained librarian in the post, President McKinley volunteered the word that if there were a trained librarian like Mr. Dewey or Mr. Putnam available for the post, he should be glad to appoint him, and particularly he would like to appoint Mr. Putnam for he had such pleasant remembrance of his father, the late George Palmer Putnam. The father had been Collector of Internal Revenue in New York by appointment

of President Lincoln and had in many ways done patriotic service, and doubtless for that reason and perhaps also as a book lover Mr. McKinley had come into touch with him. When the President made this memorable statement, I said at once that such word from the President of the United States was a command and it remained for us only to see that Herbert Putnam was prepared to accept the position. The President then explicitly authorized Mr. Lane to offer the post to Herbert Putnam in his name, and that Mr. Lane did immediately on his return to Boston, Monday, February 6.

Herbert Putnam, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1883 and a New Englander by heritage, had gone to Boston from the Minneapolis Public Library in 1891 to undertake the practice of law. In 1895 he had been appointed to the librarianship of the Boston Public Library and he was reluctant to leave Boston and a post which promised large usefulness without the political complications possibly connected with the national library. The salary in Boston was fairly adequate, while that in Washington was only $5,000, although the cost of living there was much higher. When word of his reluctance reached me in New York, being myself an old-time friend of the Putnam family, I consulted its members with the purpose of urging Herbert to take the post. As a result, there was a luncheon consultation at the Reform Club, to which Herbert Putnam came from Boston and at which George Haven Putnam, J. Bishop Putnam, and Irving Putnam joined me in urging their brother to accept the position proffered by the President.

Meantime, Speaker Reed had promised Mr. Lane to induce the House to make the salary at least $6,000 and Senator Lodge had promised like coöperation in the Senate, so that this advantage at least seemed secure, and it was expected that thereafter the salary should be made more adequate to the post, a hope which was not realized even in part for many

years and not realized adequately even now when, during the past year, the salary has been made $10,000.

At last Mr. Putnam assented to acceptance of the opportunity and this word was duly transmitted to President McKinley as well as to Senator Lodge. But Mr. Barrows' ambition had meantime been stiffened and, in place of fulfilling his word to me, he insisted on right of way to the position. Under these circumstances, Mr. Putnam withdrew his acceptance, to the President's expressed regret, and on February 15 the nomination of Mr. Barrows was transmitted to the Senate, where it was referred to the Library Committee. Mr. Barrows' self-seeking and persistence had not impressed Senators favorably and on February 28 Senator Hansbrough as acting chairman of the Library Committee reported adversely on the nomination. On March 3 the Senate considered and debated the report, but on March 4, a quarter of an hour before final adjournment at noon, the Senate on motion proceeded to other business and the nomination failed of vote pro or con. President McKinley then formally proffered a recess appointment to Mr. Barrows which, in view of the senatorial situation, he declined.

On March 7 Mr. Lane again wrote to the President regarding Mr. Putnam. President McKinley then, on March 13, made the recess appointment of Herbert Putnam as Librarian of Congress and he took the oath of office April 5, 1899, and began the thirty years' service which has made the Library of Congress what it is today. The recess appointment was notified to the Senate at the opening of the new Congress, December 6, and Mr. Putnam was duly confirmed December 12. One of the new librarian's early and most kindly acts was the appointment of Mr. Spofford as assistant librarian, a fitting acknowledgment of the respect and esteem in which he was held by his associates of the library.

In these thirty years the Library of Congress has become

Herbert Putnam

indeed the center of library activities for the nation and been made the foremost library in the world. Not since the days when the great Panizzi began the real development in the British Museum of the British national library has such service been done to all the people through a great library as has been done here in America by Herbert Putnam, the nation's librarian.

HERBERT PUTNAM

BY MELVIL DEWEY

WHEN a new librarian of Congress was to be appointed the ALA felt that we were at a critical point in American library history. We sent a strong comittee to Washington to work for the appointment of Herbert Putnam then Boston public librarian. We felt after much discussion among a few library leaders that he was clearly the best man for the important position.

When politics proved more powerful than education and another appointment was made our comittee in sorrow felt that the cause was lost and came home.

My old frend of Columbia days, President Butler, was deeply interested and appreciated the gravity of the situation. He came to my house in Albany and after a thoro discussion of possibilities he took the first train to Washington. I dropt all other business and dictated a long urgent statement to Pres McKinley, working on it til I had to leav on a 4 a m train. It made clear that it would hav markt an epoch in American libraries if he had appointed Dr Putnam as we had urged. He recognized the truth of the argument and said if the appointment had not already been sent to the senate he would appoint the man the library leaders had chosen as best fitted.

Dr Butler knew Speaker Reed and Senator Allison intimately and they trusted his judgment in such matters.

By some good fortune never discust in the pres when the senate adjournd it was found that the name of Pres McKinley's appointee was not among those confirmd in the closing hours.

We reminded the President of his very recent conversion and that he now had to issue a new appointment.

Those who had put on bibliothecal mourning were astonisht and supremely happy to read that after all the agony some kind providence had interfered for the public good.

For 30 years Dr Putnam has quietly but steadily carried the immense burden of our national library thru its period of greatest growth and greatest improvement. He blew no trumpet before him as did the Pharisees but every year made real progress toward the haven where we would be. All the world has admired the skil and good judgment with which, with efficiency surpast only by his modesty, he has steadily bilt the national institution to its present commanding position in the library world.

We ar rearing no monument to a completed work. We believe the great record of the past wil be exceeded by what he wil do in the coming years.

So after a full generation we fittingly set a white stone to mark the end of the first lap so splendidly completed.

To paraphrase:

> So bless you, Dr Putnam, may you liv a thousand years
> To render splendid service in this vale of human tears
> And may I liv a thousand, too, a thousand less a day
> For I shouldn't like to be on earth and know you'd past away.

THIRTY YEARS OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

1899 TO 1929

BY WILLIAM WARNER BISHOP

THE Anglo-Saxon, as has been oftentimes despairingly remarked by his critics and his friends, is not a logical creature. While many other countries more formal and philosophical in their concepts and phrasing of government have national libraries, Great Britain has the British Museum, and the United States the Library of Congress. Jefferson tried, by implication at least, to get it called the Library of the United States. That was the title he put on the printed catalogue of his own books which were painfully carried by ox team from Monticello to Washington in 1815 to serve as a foundation for the national library, which, begun in 1800 as the Library of Congress, had been destroyed when the Capitol was burned in 1814. But Congress never took the hint. The Library of Congress it remained and so it is called to this day.

A very humdrum and ordinary history is that of the Library of Congress in its first sixty years. Then the influence of one of the two extraordinary personalities who have made that library what it is today began to make itself felt. Appointed Librarian of Congress in 1864, Ainsworth Rand Spofford signalized his first years by certain technical changes in the working of the library, adopting that great innovation, a card catalogue, in 1865, and inaugurating that system of exchanges with other governments which has had such magnificent fruitage in the past half century. In 1867 he persuaded Congress to buy the Peter Force papers, beginning that policy of the acquisition of both printed and manuscript

Americana which brought in succession during his librarianship the papers and books of Benjamin Franklin, those of the Count de Rochambeau, and many other important if less distinguished collections. In 1866 he secured the transfer of the library of the Smithsonian Institution (with all its pledge of future exchanges) to the Library of Congress. In 1870, largely through Dr. Spofford's urging, the whole "copyright business" was placed under the Librarian of Congress, and all deposits arising from copyright made available for the increase of the library. Through tireless effort and with but small means he built up a library service to Congress and to the nation far in advance of anything known before in America. And he achieved a personal reputation for extraordinary knowledge with Congressmen and with the public not matched by any librarian of our era.

But Dr. Spofford waxed old, and the Frankenstein he had created overwhelmed the Capitol and outgrew all possible provision of space. No one who had not himself seen the conditions in the old Library of Congress on the west side of the Capitol could credit the stories of heaps of books and papers piled high from floor to ceiling in certain rooms. A new building was erected, late, as is the course of governmental providing for its own, but when built lavish of space and ornament. Constructed by Bernard Green, shrewd Yankee and competent engineer, it was solid, spacious, capable of carrying immense loads of books, equipped with novel steel shelving, to the last degree adequate and sightly. Almost a million books were carted across the Capitol Grounds when the library was moved in the summer of 1897.

Dr. Spofford (well past threescore and ten) was relieved of the active direction of the library, but retained as chief assistant librarian. John Russell Young, a journalist of distinction, was appointed librarian in 1897, coming to the post from the same calling as his predecessor. Scarcely a year and

a half later he passed away, but not before he had begun active measures for the internal improvement of the library, and had called some most capable men to Washington to assist him, men who have helped to make that record of thirty years which we celebrate in this volume. On April 5, 1899, for the first time a librarian was appointed Librarian of Congress. Herbert Putnam laid down the direction of the Boston Public Library to begin in Washington a work of nation-wide influence and service.

What the new Librarian of Congress thought of the situation he found we are not permitted to know. So much as he thought fit to put into print may be discovered in an article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for February, 1900. Briefly, he found a small staff lacking systematic organization, a huge mass of books but ill arranged on Mr. Jefferson's scheme of classification; an imperfect author catalogue on large slips, but no subject catalogue or shelf-list; meager funds for purchases and none for publication; material special in form, that is, prints, maps, music, manuscripts, and the like, in enormous quantities, but not well catalogued, arranged, and served by specialists; a service to Congress and to the public in competent directing hands, but largely untrained and distinctly non-expert; no order department and no department of public documents; great arrears in the Copyright Office; large annual accessions, chiefly from copyright and from exchange; a magnificent and imposing building, itself a pledge and promise of support from Congress. Altogether a Herculean task to fall on the shoulders of any man. And he was alone, unaided by any board of trustees, any advisory committee, any well-defined group to help in creating public opinion or in bringing pressure on the national legislature. Perhaps this last-named apparent weakness was a real source of strength—he had no one between him and the subcommittees of those

appropriating bodies of Congress on whose vote the very life of the Library of Congress depends.

And now—thirty years on—how different is the picture! Over three million books fairly cramming greatly enlarged stacks; appropriations tenfold larger, even if—as always—lagging behind opportunity; public opinion in Washington and in the country enthusiastically favorable to the Library of Congress; professional opinion of all sorts and conditions of librarians solidly and almost reverentially supporting its policies; a Manuscript Division holding the papers not alone of the Continental Congress, but of the great fathers of our country, Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and their successors down to our own days; a Division of Prints, the proud custodians of priceless engravings entrusted to it by generous and discriminating collectors and rich in purchases of its own selection; an ordered array of the publications of governments, enormous in amount and invaluable in service to legislation; a Map Division containing the largest collection of atlases and maps to be found in the western hemisphere, indexed and published in imposing catalogues; a Music Division literally unrivaled in America, rich in treasures, and so abundant in scores as to be almost beyond envy, coöperating through private benefaction in the musical life of the country; the Smithsonian deposit of transactions of societies and journals swollen to half a million volumes with sets completed and well catalogued; files of American and foreign newspapers more complete and in greater amount than in any other library; a classification system adequate to such huge masses of books, yet flexible and capable of indefinite expansion, a system which has so commended itself to numbers of other libraries that they have adopted it for their own books; a printed catalogue on cards, full and scholarly, revealing the contents of books as well as their writers, and

by entirely unusual ingenuity serving through sale and distribution over four thousand other libraries, as well as the Library of Congress itself; accessions representing, not only the American press through copyright, but the great literatures of the world, and yearly filling in gaps in the ranks of books; direct service to Congress in aid of legislation through a legislative reference section and through a bibliographic service equally direct, but also useful to the country at large; a system of loans to other libraries, putting at the service of scholars the country over the wealth of the national library; a great Union Catalogue of books *not* in the Library of Congress; large special collections of Slavic literature, and of oriental literature administered by librarians expert in those esoteric languages; special service and facilities for the visiting scholar unmatched in other governmental libraries; in these last years private endowments and gifts for both service and books attracted to the library by its promise of permanence; in short, a working, living, serving organism in aid of research, scholarship, legislation, government, the national life itself.

Many men and many forces have contributed to bring about this amazing development, always under the guiding control of a single mind. Chief of these has been Congressional support, and its corollary, coöperation from the departments of the Government. While to those in the thick of the daily routine no appropriation is likely to seem adequate, to one observing from a distance and over a period of now three decades the great sums voted by successive Congresses for the support, enlargement, and growth of the Library of Congress are seen to be, not only a sufficient cause for much of the change from 1899 to 1929, but are in themselves an impressive tribute to a persuasive and convincing presentation to Congress of the library's needs. Year after year the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation

bill has seen generous provision for the Library of Congress, changing now with shifting needs and now with more clearly perceived opportunities, but steadily mounting and always at least adequate to good service—occasionally reaching proportions to excite envy in the breasts of brother-librarians. Congress is notoriously slow to recognize imponderable values, but in its support of its own library clear and reasonable statement of need has been met in the long run without too much emphasis on the immediately practical. The record of appropriations in these thirty years is not the least imposing part of that sum of service to the nation which we are attempting to cast up in this survey.

But appropriations and provisions for the transfer of invaluable archive material do not alone account for this growth alike in size and in character of the national library. The confidence of benefactors once gained, great gifts have come to the Library of Congress. The benefactions of collectors perhaps come first, for the man who has put himself into the collection he has gleaned from the book-marts of the world gives far more than he who generously opens his purse alone. There is no space here to record even the major part of those who in these three decades have given the fruits of their collecting. One may mention a few names, but as samples merely. The prints from Jeffrey Parsons, from the Pennells, and from Junius Morgan; the great Deinard collections of Judaica from Mr. Schiff; the Thacher incunabula and Americana; the papers of several Presidents from their families, and other gifts of manuscripts; these are but a few out of scores and hundreds of collections and separate items given to the library. And if not actual gifts, certain great collections have been secured at prices so nominal as almost to count as donations. Chief of these is the Yudin library of Slavica, particularly rich in Siberian material, comprising over eighty thousand volumes. And in these recent days have come Mrs.

Frederic Coolidge's gift of an auditorium for music with her generous provision for chamber concerts, as well as the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board and the endowment of two "chairs," one in American history and one in the fine arts. Moreover, grants from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., are permitting extraordinary and much-needed service in aid of scholarship to be carried forward far more rapidly than could otherwise have been hoped for. Certainly the confidence of Congress has been followed by the confidence of discriminating donors. Both are tributes to successful administration, to patient daily insistence on high performance, to an ideal for the library which only a long period of service could have brought to such fruition.

Still, ideals, unless embodied in men and their work, are but sounding brass and tinkling cymbals. Herbert Putnam found some remarkable men on the staff of the library in 1899. It is to his lasting credit that he saw and proved their power, fitted them to the work for which each was most suited, and sustained them in their daily service. Solberg, Hanson, Martel, Griffin, Phillips, Hutcheson, are names which have meant much to American librarianship. To them he added with the years others—Sonneck, Engel, Martin, Ford, Hunt, Ashley, Hastings, Boyd, Meyer, Parsons, Slade, Harris, and now Jameson, to mention but a few. And he gave them helpers. Adamant to political pressure—for the Library of Congress is not under the Civil Service Act—he drew to the library an array of skilled librarians unequaled in America. In the years of the World War this force suffered much depletion. Happily, it has recovered and the newer classification of government employees gives it a reasonably sound professional status. The salaries have never been high, but there has always under Dr. Putnam been distinction in working in the Library of Congress, a distinction which has brought and kept a strong staff.

Important as these factors have been, it remains true that a skilful use of other agencies has likewise done much toward creating that public regard and approval without which no governmental library can ever hope for success. The Smithsonian connection, maintained and fostered despite any momentary loss of convenience or failure of service, has done much to make the Library of Congress a leader in collections of the publications of academies and scientific societies from all the world. That marvelous group of journals and transactions, painfully completed through many years of devoted labor by Francis Parsons, is perhaps the most useful single department of the library—certainly the portion which directors of research libraries would most like to transfer to their own domain, were plundering the order of the day. Dr. Spofford secured the gift from the Government to be used for exchanges of sets of all United States documents. Mr. Putnam, through his organization and steady support of the Division of Documents, has not only secured a full fruitage in the way of publications of foreign national governments, but an even more remarkable array of documents of lesser governmental divisions, provinces, states, regions, and cities. Every agency of our Federal Government having any power to influence the sending and gathering of documents has been brought into service. And by a very clever use of printer's ink the *Library of Congress Monthly List of State Publications* has been made, not only an indispensable bibliography, but a great collecting agency for the library.

Coöperation with other branches of the Government has had some interesting by-products, chief of which is the huge oriental collection. In 1900 Mr. Putnam deplored the almost entire lack of oriental literature. Today the Library of Congress holds Japanese, Chinese, and other oriental books of great significance and value and in extraordinary number. The greater part of these acquisitions is directly due to the

zeal and skill of Dr. Walter Swingle of the Department of Agriculture, whose help, beginning in a rather small coöperative effort, has reached monumental proportions. Other instances of the fruits of governmental coöperation might be multiplied almost indefinitely.

The copyright law has brought huge masses, not alone of books, but of maps, prints, music, and newspapers to the Library of Congress. These might well have been a crushing burden. It is perhaps Dr. Putnam's greatest service to the nation that he has seen the obligation to develop and make highly useful these deposits of material essential to scholarship and to culture, but too frequently neglected in libraries, just because unusual in form and very costly both to get and to keep. The Library of Congress has acquired great distinction, not merely because of what the Copyright Act has brought it, but because the Librarian of Congress has added wisely and liberally to the deposits, and has put in charge of them men capable of turning these apparent liabilities into assets of unique value. By their purchases, their published catalogues and indexes, their service of their materials, the Divisions of Prints, Maps, Music, and Newspapers have become unrivaled in this country.

Perhaps no single feature of these thirty years has meant so much to the development of libraries in America as has the sale of printed catalogue cards from the Library of Congress. That service is now so familiar to librarians that it is hard to put ourselves back to 1901 when it began. Libraries the country over have come to depend absolutely on the Library of Congress for the greater part of their cataloguing. A system of sale alike simple and accurate, a huge stock of cards, a competent force making deliveries rapidly through the mails, all these are the commonplace of library practice. But they all have come from the vision of a small group, backed and encouraged with sympathetic patience by a wise

director. It is to the lasting benefit of the reading public of America that Herbert Putnam supported James Hanson and Charles Hastings in their working out of a practical scheme of central cataloguing.

Coöperation has in fact been the keynote to the activities of the Library of Congress in these three decades. Coöperation with the American Library Association, especially in its earlier days, when aid was far more needed than of late years, has meant much to the elevation and maintenance of professional standards. Coöperation with other governmental agencies, including the libraries of the Government in Washington, has greatly helped the public service. Coöperation with other libraries in manifold ways too numerous to mention has done much for readers and students in America. Particularly in the development of the interlibrary loan has the Library of Congress been, not a benefactor only, but a leader in a nation-wide service of incalculable benefit to scholarship. The recent growth on a large scale of the modest "Union Catalogue" begun fifteen years and more ago is proving every day the value of centralized bibliographic service in aid of research. In truth the spirit of mutual assistance which has distinguished the Library of Congress in its relations with other libraries is doubtless the outstanding characteristic of that library in the eyes of librarians. And that spirit reflects the disposition and aims of its head.

It may seem that this estimate is wholly in the superlative degree. There is another side, as Dr. Putnam would himself be the first to declare. Not all his projects have been wholly successful, nor have all the possibilities of the library's service been discovered or followed. Many a favorite plan and purpose urged by the staff has had to be deferred. Many an opportunity to acquire books and other material of supreme importance has been of necessity refused, to the profit of private collectors and of other libraries. Not all the men called to

high office in the library have been equal to their task. The more merit, then, to that judgment and discernment which has at least stressed the practical and the attainable, always with an eye to high standards and aims.

But beyond and above all these manifestations of a vivifying and guiding spirit stands the man himself, something more than and different from his work. It is not meet that we should analyze or dissect his character and himself. In honoring him in this volume he will at least permit an old friend and a former subordinate to say this much: These thirty years have revealed to us a man of vision with aims and ideals unmatched in our experience; they have shown his statesmanship; they have seen a patience that has never faltered or halted, a persuasiveness that has brought money and support in large measure, a vigor that not the weight of years or great burdens has weakened. And more than all else these thirty years have shown us a kindliness and humanity all his own. In honoring him we greatly honor both ourselves and our calling.

THE CARTOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH ATTACK ON FORT MOULTRIE IN 1776

BY RANDOLPH G. ADAMS

THE compilation of a bibliography of any sort always reminds me of the story of Sergeant Jasper. The Sergeant, you will remember, was one of the gallant defenders of Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, on that memorable June day in 1776, when the British undertook to pass the fort and capture the city of Charleston. During the action, which ended disastrously for the British, a chance shot from a British vessel carried away the Palmetto Flag of South Carolina from the flag pole in the fort. In spite of the rain of shells, Sergeant Jasper climbed the flag pole and replaced the flag. Whereupon, a British observer put in his official report that during the action the Americans hanged a man from a tree in the fort.

In any sort of literary investigation one gets accustomed to being abused for not doing something which one never intended to do, but to be accused of being hanged as a traitor during the course of a battle when one was only trying to replace the colors—that is almost unfair. Some months ago I published a little list of maps entitled *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches Used by Sir Henry Clinton while in Command of the British Forces Operating in North America during the War for Independence. A Descriptive List of the Original Manuscripts and Printed Documents now Preserved in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan,* Ann Arbor, 1928. The title is thus given *in extenso,* because one of my first critics was a librarian who wrote me in an aggrieved tone inquiring why I had violated the funda-

mental principle of making my binder's title agree with the title-page. I did not even know it was a fundamental rule—and I almost replied to him that I did not think it was a very good rule.

However, the title was explicit enough. No sooner was the book published than I began to have my doubts about its usefulness. In the first place, it completely ignored all the printed maps of the Revolution, which had not happened to be in Sir Henry's archives. In the second place, it did not include manuscript maps of the Revolution which were within twenty feet of my desk, but which came from other sources. When I found one critic praising me for writing a bibliography of the maps of the American Revolution, I began to feel very badly, worse, in fact, than I felt at reading that another critic complained that the volume was not a complete bibliography of the maps of the Revolution.

A complete list of the maps of the American Revolution, in print and in manuscript, would be a pretty piece of work. Perhaps the only way it can ever be done is by a multitude of studies on local cartography. Sergeant Jasper suggested such a subject: the Attack on Fort Moultrie and Charleston in 1776, by Sir Peter Parker in command of the British fleet and Sir Henry Clinton in command of the troops. Now Fort Moultrie and Charleston have been subjected to at least four major attacks, 1776, 1779, 1780, and 1863. By limiting my inquiry to representations of the attack of 1776, I had the satisfaction of excluding at least three-quarters of the maps of attacks on Charleston. The humor of the whole study struck me when I realized that the most illuminating maps on the subject were the modern Coast and Geodetic Survey charts which indicate the shoals and channels. For it was these physiographical features as much as the defenders of Fort Moultrie which defeated the British. Sir Peter's ships ran aground and Sir Henry's troops were unable to ford a seven-foot channel.

The list of maps appended hereto does not pretend to be exhaustive. It is merely a list of what I have been able to note up to the present time. Every investigator knows of examples of the most competent scholars whose knowledge was lost at their death, because they were afraid to go into print with an incomplete story. If only some way could be found to induce a man who has done a piece of research to "dig in" in such a fashion as to indicate the limit of his findings, without at the same time allowing him to be worried by fears of not having been infallible, we might have a great many temporary advances made which could later be consolidated for the benefit of scholarship. At all events, it would prevent many investigators from wasting time traversing the ground covered by their predecessors. It is certainly desirable to have one generation of scholars begin where the previous generation left off, and not where the previous generation began.

This, I take it, affords me ample justification for presenting the following avowedly incomplete list of the maps illustrating the British attack on Charleston in 1776. The letters "WLCL" indicate that the copy described is in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan; "LC" indicates that the copy described is in the Library of Congress. There are, of course, dozens of other copies of these printed maps in other collections.

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan, near Charles Town in South Carolina. by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, on the 28th. of June 1776. with the Disposition of the King's Land Forces, and the Encampments and Entrenchments of the Rebels from the Drawings made on the Spot Engraved by Wm. Faden. . . . London. Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross. 14⅝ x 11 inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

First Issue. Immediately below the Plan, and engraved on a separate plate is "To Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c. &c. This Plan is Most humbly Dedicated & Presented by Lt. Colonel Thos. James Rl. Rt. of Artillery June 30th. 1776." Below the dedication is a descriptive account, in two columns entitled "List of his Majesty's Squadron commanded by Commodore Sir Peter Parker, Knt. &c. on the Expedition against Fort Sulivan in South Carolina." and "The following Attack of Fort Sulivan is extracted from the Letters of Commodore Sir Peter Parker, Knt. and Lieut. General Clinton, to the Lords of the Admiralty." . . . "London: Printed and Sold by William Faden, Successor to the late Mr. Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King, the Corner of St. Martin's-Lane, Charing Cross."

In the upper left hand corner is an inset, "Plan of the Platform in Sulivans Fort, by Lt. Colonel Thos. James of the Rl. Rt. of Artillery."

The copy of this map which came with the Sir Henry Clinton Papers bears a long manuscript note in Clinton's handwriting. This copy is No. 300 in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches.*

A facsimile appears in the *Charleston Year Book,* 1883.

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan, near Charles Town in South Carolina. by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, on the 28th. of June 1776. with the Disposition of the King's Land Forces, and the Encampments and Entrenchments of the Rebels from the Drawings made on the Spot Engraved by Wm. Faden. . . . London, Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross. 14⅝ x 11 inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

Second Issue. Lacks the dedication and descriptive matter on the first issue. The following additions appear on the plate: (1) Bridge of boats connecting Sullivan's Island with the mainland. (2) "Hetheral Pt." located. (3) Two positions now mark the "Rebels Camp" on Hetheral Point. (4) Sand banks off Green Island now marked "Sands Dry at Low Water," and the outline of the bars has been changed. (5) The words "18 inches Deep" which appear below Long Island in the first issue have been taken out. (6) On Long Island the "British Camp" of the first issue has been changed to "Encampment of the British Army." (7) Along the shore of Long Island now appear the words "1st. Brigade" and "2nd. Brigade" with 8 colored squares desig-

nated "Artillery," "Light Infantry and Grenadiers," and "15" [Regiment] composing the 1st Brigade; "33," "57," "57," "47," and "28 Regts." composing the 2d Brigade. (8) On the mainland between Green and Sullivan's Islands appear two unmarked positions.

Inset same as in preceding map.

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan, near Charles Town in South Carolina. by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, on the 28th. of June 1776. with the Disposition of the King's Land Forces, and the Encampments and Entrenchments of the Rebels from the Drawings made on the Spot Engraved by Wm. Faden. . . . London. Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross. 14⅝ x 11 inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

THIRD ISSUE. This issue lacks the engraved dedication as given in the first issue. It has, however, the "List of his Majesty's Squadron . . ." and the ". . . Account of the Attack. . . ." with text similar to first issue, but it is an entirely different impression. The type has been reset.

The alterations in the plate are as follows: (1) Numerous sounding figures are given, whereas neither of the previous issues has any. (2) Another bridge is shown to the east of that given in the second issue, which is also retained. (3) The channel between the mainland and Sullivan's Island is now marked "Canal 5 feet at High Water 2 at Low Water." (4) Back of Sullivan's Island now appears a second "armed hulk." (5) A "Sand Bank" and a "Sand Shoal" appear in the lower left hand corner of the map. (6) The large sandbank in the center has been outlined anew and the name changed to "North Breaker." (7) The "Ranger Sloop" in the upper right hand corner has been removed from the map. (8) In the British fleet the positions of the "Friendship" and the "Thunder Bomb" have been altered so that instead of these ships being to the right of the fleet, they are below it, and the "Thunder Bomb," instead of being to the left of the "Friendship," is below it. "Armed vessel 28" erased from beneath "Friendship." (9) The two positions marked on previous issues "Where the Actaeon and the Sphinx where [!] to be station'd" have been raised about an inch higher on the map, and the legend now reads "Where the Actaeon and the Sphinx were to be stationed." (10) ". . . at Low Water" added

to legend "Deepest channel 7 feet" at head of Sullivan's Island. (11) Along the shore of Long Island are 9 colored squares instead of 8—with following changes in regiment numbers—28, 37 in the 1st brigade; 54, 57, 46, 33, 15 in the 2d brigade.

The inset is the same as in the preceding issues.

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan near Charles Town in South Carolina by a Sqadron [!] of His Majesty's Ships on the 28th of June 1776 with the Disposition of the King's Land Forces and the Encampments and Entrenchments of the Rebels . . . W[illiam] C[linton] delint. Brunswick. 14½ x 11 inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This is evidently a manuscript copy of the first issue of the Faden map.

This map came with the Sir Henry Clinton collection, and is listed as No. 301 in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches.*

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan, near Charles Town in South Carolina. by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships, on the 28th of June 1776. with the Disposition of the King's Land Forces, and the Encampments and Intrenchments of the Rebels. . . . W.[illiam] H.[enry] C.[linton] delvt. Sepbr. 1791. 14½ x 10¾ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This is evidently a manuscript copy of the first issue of the Faden map. It is surrounded by the text which appeared on the printed version, only on this copy the whole is written out in what appears to be the hand of a secretary. It contains also the manuscript notes by Sir Henry Clinton which appear on the Clinton copy of the *engraved* first issue of the Faden map, which is No. 300 in the *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches.* This map is No. 299 in that list. The Clinton notes are printed under No. 300 of the *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches.*

[A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan near Charles Town in South Carolina by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships on the 28 June 1776 with the Disposition of the Kings land Forces and the Encampments & Entrenchments of the Americans from a Drawing made on the Spot] 14⅞ x 11¼ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Manuscript map.* LC.

A contemporary manuscript copy of the Faden map, first issue, in the Library of Congress. The title cartouche has not been filled in.

A Plan of the Attack of Fort Sulivan near Charles Town in South Carolina by a Squadron of His Majesty's Ships on the 28 June 1776 with the Disposition of the Kings land Forces and the Encampments & Entrenchments of the Americans from the Drawing made on the Spot. 14⅝ x 10⅞ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

A contemporary manuscript copy of the Faden map second issue. Variations in spelling and in wording—"1st Brigade" and "2nd. Brigade" omitted from shore of Long Island and regiments numbered as follows—15; 33; 54; 57; 47; 28.

The word "Rebels" has been changed to "Americans."

A Plan of the Attack, of Fort Sulivan, the Key of Charles Town, in South Carolina, on the 28th. of June 1776. By His Majesty's Squadron, Commanded by Sir Peter Parker. By an Officer on the Spot. . . . London, Printed for Robt. Sayer & Jno. Bennett, Map & Sea Chartsellers, No. 53, Fleet Street, as the Act directs. 7th. Septr. 1776. 15¼ x 12½ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 1,780 feet. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

Below the plate mark of the engraving are four columns of printed text, entitled "The following Description of the Attack of Fort Sulivan, was received in a Letter from Sir Peter Parker to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty." The imprint reads "Printed for R. Sayer and J. Bennett, Map, Chart, and Printsellers, No. 53, Fleet-Street. Price One Shilling."

In Library of Congress copies of *Atlas Amériquain Septentrional* . . . Paris, Le Rouge, 1778-[1792], and *Pilote Américain Septentrional* . . . Paris, Le Rouge, 1778.

Attaques du Fort Sulivan près Charlestown dans la Caroline Meridionale par les Anglois. le 28. Juin 1776. avec les Camps des Amériquains . . . A Paris Chez le Rouge Ingénieur Géographe du Roi rue des Grands Augustins 1777. 9¾ x 12½ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 2,112 feet. *Engraved map.* LC.

This map might properly be called a French edition of the Faden

map, following in the main the second issue. It is an inset on the French edition of Henry Mouzon's *An Accurate Map of North and South Carolina.* . . . Paris . . . Le Rouge . . . 1777. This map appears in *Atlas Amériquain Septentrional* . . . Paris, Le Rouge, 1778-[1792], Nos. 19 and 20.

A Plan of Charles Town the Capital of South Carolina, with the Harbour, Islands, and Forts; the Attack on Fort Sulivan. by His Majesty's Ships under Sir Peter Parker, in 1776; the Position of the Land Forces, under General Clinton, and the Rebel Camp and Intrenchments, exactly delineated. . . . Jno. Lodge Sculp. 11 x 5⅛ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 1 mile. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

This map appeared in *The Political Magazine* . . . *For the Year M,DCC,LXXX,* . . . London [1780], p. 170. It is similar to the third issue of the Faden map, but covers more territory.

An Exact Plan of Charles-Town-Bar and Harbour. From an Actual Survey. With the Attack of Fort Sulivan, on the 28th. of June 1776. By His Majesty's Squadron, Commanded by Sir Peter Parker . . . London. Printed for Robt. Sayer and Jno. Bennett, Map & Sea Chartsellers, No. 53 Fleet Street, as the Act directs. 31st. August 1776. 27¾ x 20 inches. Scale, 1 inch to ½ mile. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

First English Edition.

This map also appears in *The North American Pilot* . . . London, R. Sayer and J. Bennett, 1777, plate 15. See Library of Congress copy.

An Exact Plan of Charleston Bar and Harbour. From an Actual Survey. With the Attack of Fort Sulivan, on the 28th. of June 1776. By His Majesty's Squadron, Commanded by Sir Peter Parker. . . . London, Printed for Robert Sayer. as the Act Directs January 1st. 1791. 27½ x 19 inches. Scale, 1 inch to ½ mile. *Engraved map.* LC.

Second English Edition.

Barre et Port de Charles-Town levé en 1776 avec les Attaques du Fort Sulivan du 28 Juin 1776 par l'Escadre Anglaise Commandé par P. Parker. A Paris Chez Le Rouge, Rue des grands Augustins

1778. 17¾ x 24⅛ inches. Scale, 1 inch to approximately 7/10 mile. *Engraved map.* LC.

The French Edition of Sayer and Bennett's "An Exact Plan of Charles-Town-Bar and Harbour. . . ."

This map is to be found in *Pilote Américain Septentrional* . . . Paris, Le Rouge, 1778. Although not called for by the table of contents, this map also appears in the Library of Congress copy of *Atlas Amériquain Septentrional* . . . Paris, Le Rouge, 1778-[1792].

A Sketch of the Situation, & Stations of the British Vessels, under the Command of, Sir Peter Parker on the Attack upon Fort Moultrie on Sulivan Island June 28th. 1776. Abernethie Sculpt. Charleston. 11⅜ x 6½ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

In *The History of the Revolution of South Carolina.* . . . By David Ramsay . . . Trenton . . . M.DCC.LXXXV, Vol. I, p. 144.

Plan de la Situation et des Stations des Vaisseaux Britanniques, sous le Commandement de Sir Pierre Parker, à l'attaque du Fort Moultrie, dans L'Isle Sullivan, Le 28. Juin 1776. Picquet, Sculp. 11⅜ x 6¼ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

French Edition of the preceding map.

In *Histoire de la Révolution d'Amérique* . . . par M. David Ramsay . . . Paris . . . M.DCC.LXXXXVI, Vol. I, p. 127.

No. 1. Fort Sullivan afterwards called Fort Moultrie in the unfinished State it was on the 28th. June 1776. The numbers opposite each cannon shew the weight of ball they carried. Only the part of the Fort which is shaded was finished. No. 2. Sketch of a part of Sullivan's Island, the Fort, the Main, and the Shipping, during the Attack of the 28th. June 1776. 12 x 6⅞ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

In *Memoirs of the American Revolution.* . . . By John Drayton. . . . Charleston, 1821. Vol. II, p. 290.

A Sketch of Sr. Peter Parker's Attack on Fort Moultrie, June 28th. 1776. T. Conder Sculpt. London. 6¼ x 3½ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

In *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States of America. . . .* By William Gordon, London, MDCCLXXXVIII, Vol. III, p. 358.

To Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c, &c, &c, This View is Most humbly Dedicated and Presented by Lt. Colonel Thos. James Rl. Rt of Artillery, July 1st 1776. A Birds Eye View from part of Mount Pleasant. A. to the Eastern point of Long Island. B-C. The Lady William an Armed Schooner, and Sloop. D. The Fort on Sulivans Island. E. Sulivans Island. F. The Rebels Tents, Huts and Redoubt. G. Green Island. H. The British Camp on Long Isld. I. The Ranger Snow of War. K. The Anchorage of the Commodore Sir Petr. Parker Knt. &c &c. London. Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross. 22¾ x 5½ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

This is partly a diagram and partly a picture. It was published in *Atlas of the Battles of the American Revolution,* London, 1770-1793, and also issued separately.

A N. b. E. View of the Fort on the Western end of Sulivans Island with the Disposition of His Majesty's Fleet Commanded by Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c. &c. &c. during the Attack on the 28th of June 1776. which lasted 9 hours and 40 minutes. . . . London, Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martins Lane Charing Cross. To Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c. &c. &c. This View is Most humbly Dedicated and Presented by Lt. Colonel Thos. James Rl. Rt. of Artillery June 30th. 1776. 15⅞ x 5½ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

This engraving is partly a diagram and partly a picture. The fact that the dedication is printed from a separate plate suggests that copies may exist without the dedication. It was printed in *Atlas of the Battles of the American Revolution,* London, 1770-1793, and also issued separately.

A N.W. b. N. View of Charles Town from on board the Bristol Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c. &c. taken in Five Fathom

Hole the day after the Attack upon Fort Sulivan by the Commodore & his Squadron which Action continued 9 hours & 40 minutes. . . . To Commodore Sir Peter Parker Knt. &c. &c. &c. This View is Most humbly Dedicated and Presented by Lt. Colonel Thos. James Rl. Rt. of Artillery, Five Fathom Hole South Carolina, June 29th. 1776. London. Engrav'd & Publish'd according to Act of Parliament Augt. 10th. 1776. by Wm. Faden Corner of St. Martin's Lane Charing Cross. 11½ x 4¾ inches. *Engraved map.* WLCL.

This is partly a diagram and partly a picture. The imprint line is directly beneath the picture and not following the title, as given *supra.* The dedication is printed from a separate plate, which suggests that there may be copies without the dedication. It was printed in *Atlas of the Battles of the American Revolution,* London, 1770-1793, and also issued separately.

Plan of the Scene of Action at Charlestown in the Province of South Carolina the 28th. June 1776. . . . John Campbell. 36¼ x 23¼ inches. Scale, 1 inch to approximately 3,000 feet. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This manuscript map was found in the Sir Henry Clinton collection, and was described in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches,* No. 303.

[Charleston, the British attack of 1776] 38½ x 24½ inches. Scale, 1 inch to 3,016 feet. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This manuscript map was found in the Sir Henry Clinton collection, and was described in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches,* No. 302.

[Parts of Sullivan's Island and Long Island] 12¾ x 8 inches. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This manuscript was found in the Sir Henry Clinton collection, and was described in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches,* No. 304.

This map is done in the manner of Sir Henry Clinton's own rough draughtsmanship, and is designed to show the intrenchment on the north end of Sullivan's Island which Clinton proposed to attack when Sir Peter Parker attacked the southern end of the island from the sea.

[Sullivan's Island and Long Island, South Carolina] 12¾ x 15½ inches. Scale, 1 inch to approximately 1 mile. *Manuscript map.* WLCL.

This manuscript was found in the Sir Henry Clinton collection, and was described in *British Headquarters Maps and Sketches,* No. 305.

This map, like the preceding, seems to have been drawn and annotated by Clinton. It is evidently designed to indicate how difficult it was to get the troops from Long Island either to Sullivan's Island or the mainland.

THE STORY OF THE TRANSCRIPTS

BY CHARLES M. ANDREWS

OF the greatest importance to the student investigator is the change which has taken place in the attitude of the collector and custodian of documents useful for historical research. It is a doctrine still defended by some that legal ownership gives exclusive rights of use to those who have provided the funds, and the day is not long past when the librarians of private historical societies and the owners of private historical collections were inclined to look upon the historical investigator as an intruder, to question him suspiciously, as if he might rob them of their treasures, and to feel that their possessions because purchased by private means were therefore to be hoarded and concealed, even from competent scholars who might come knocking at the door. That students had any claim upon documents of this character was far from generally recognized, and that private owners, whether societies or individuals, lay under any obligations to the public or to scholars was a view held in but few quarters. The old-time restrictions placed upon the use of documents in private hands, which to some extent, both in this country and in England, still prevail, were not favorable to a rapid prosecution of historical research; while the custodians themselves, though sometimes producing printed texts of great value, edited with meticulous care, were more often absorbed in antiquarian studies, to the subjects of which a highly exaggerated importance was generally assigned. Notable exceptions to this statement can be given, but no one who, a generation or more ago, either in this country or in England, endeavored to obtain admission to the muniment rooms of private societies or individuals,

but knows the difficulties that often encumbered his path. The older generation of historical scholars can give many instances from their own experiences of attempts to break down this barrier of irresponsibility and exclusiveness in order to obtain the desired permission to examine materials that by one means or another, purchase, gift, or accident, had fallen into private hands.

On the other hand, the private historical society, though often possessed of limited means and even more limited vision and rarely attempting to go beyond interests bounded by state, locality, section, or race have it to their credit that they gathered, preserved, and when funds permitted published a magnificent body of material. During the hundred and thirty years since the first historical society was founded in this country, these organizations, enduring many ups and downs, advancements and retrogressions, have been the guardians of such historical material as was obtainable for preservation. To them the historian owes a great debt. The larger task of concerning themselves with the manuscripts essential for the history of the country at large was beyond their powers and beyond their means. Even occasional attempts made to secure transcripts of documents from outside and distant sources were still in the interest of the local community, state, town, or section. Nevertheless, such effort marks a notable advance in the character of the material collected and in the method of promoting local history, for it distinctly broadened the horizon and opened vistas that were certain to lead in the end to a more comprehensive understanding of the place of the local community in the larger world. The great collection of documents gathered in the years from 1841 to 1844 in the Netherlands, France, and England, by John Romeyn Brodhead for the state of New York, followed in later years by the no less important collections of North Carolina, Maryland, New Hampshire, Maine, New

Jersey, and Georgia, and by the great work of Abner C. Goodell in his edition of the *Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts,* widened enormously the range of historical investigation in this country and ushered in a new era in the study of our colonial history. In all these cases the editors went beyond the boundaries of their own local archives and sought material for their purpose wherever it could be found. Such material, however, could be published only by the state or by the state in coöperation with the local historical society.

Other activities of a not dissimilar character during these years marked historical progress along the same lines. The various lists and abstracts of documents from the Public Record Office prepared in 1857 for South Carolina and the analytical indexes to the colonial documents in the same repository prepared through private munificence by Henry Stevens in 1859 for New Jersey, Rhode Island, Maryland, and Virginia, the Sainsbury abstracts, and the McDonald and DeJarnette papers in the Virginia State Library, paid for by the state, were all contributory to a wider interest in the documentary material abroad. But the first actual transcribing of manuscripts on a large scale was begun by Frederick D. Stone, librarian of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. Inspired by a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society in 1893 by William Noël Sainsbury on "The Public Record Office and the Materials in it for Early American History," Mr. Stone conceived the idea, which was eventually carried out in full by his successor after his untimely death, of securing complete copies of certain series of minute-books and letter files of the old Board of Trade. These records, the journal of the board and the files known under the old classification as "Plantations General" and "Proprieties," were to be added to the collections of the Society for the use of scholars.

Meanwhile, stimulated by these various and scattered ac-

tivities and the demands of an ever increasing number of historical investigators, members of the historical profession in America believed that the time had come to make a systematic examination of the archives abroad, at least in Great Britain. They knew that the documents there had been hitherto but imperfectly known and but casually investigated. They knew that the older organizations were unable to meet the growing demands of the scholar, and that private investigators, attracted chiefly by rare printed volumes or by manuscripts that had in large part only a display value, were not familiar with history or with the needs of the historian. They saw the desirability of an organized inquiry into the sources of American history wherever to be found, not for the benefit of this or that state, the biography of this or that personage, or the elucidation of this or that event, but for a comprehensive study of American history in all its manifold aspects. They foresaw, vaguely, perhaps, but hopefully, the coming of a time when all this material would in some way or another be made more accessible to scholars, and dreamed of an archive center, which would become a national repository of documents relating to America as a whole.

That the collecting of such material was not to become a function of the United States Government had already been made apparent. For many years Benjamin Franklin Stevens, United States dispatch agent in London, had been making notes of all the documents he could find abroad relating to the period from 1763 to 1783, and in 1887, instigated by the Massachusetts Historical Society and supported by individuals and societies in thirty states and territories, he memorialized Congress on behalf of an index which he had already partly prepared of unpublished manuscripts in Europe relating to America. But Congress adjourned without action. Mr. Stevens then deposited with the Library of Congress a col-

lection of nearly eleven thousand pages of "peace transcripts" on approbation, in the hope that Congress would eventually purchase them as well as the index, which in the meantime remained in England. But nothing was ever done by the legislative body. While completing the index and awaiting the pleasure of Congress, Mr. Stevens prepared and issued a great collection of facsimiles of manuscripts in European archives, containing 2,107 documents, which in the years from 1889 to 1898 he sold by subscription at $500 a set. In his correspondence during the negotiations, he expressed the hope that some day all the documents which he had recorded in his index, numbering 161,000 altogether, would eventually be transcribed and rendered easy of access in one homogeneous collection, which in the end might contain copies of all the manuscripts and documents in European archives relating to American history.

But Mr. Stevens did not live to see his dream come true. He died in 1902. Yet he was more of a prophet than he knew. Already quite independently plans were in the making which were destined, before a quarter of a century had passed, to bring his hopes approximately to a fulfilment. In 1899 Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, then of Brown University, suggested to the American Antiquarian Society the preparation of a guide to the manuscript materials for American history in London repositories. The idea was favorably received, but before it could be acted upon the Carnegie Institution of Washington was founded, in 1901, and Dr. Jameson became the head of its Bureau (afterward Department) of Historical Research. With more ample resources at his disposal, he immediately projected a larger plan involving a systematic search of European archives and the issue of series of guides to American materials therein. The guide to the British archives, the first to be undertaken, was entrusted to the writer

of this article. It was planned to be finished in one year and to be complete in one volume. It was finally issued in the years 1908 to 1914 in three volumes of quite respectable size.

Now appeared upon the scene a new and important ally, without whose wise and tactful coöperation the larger project of obtaining transcripts from abroad might never have been carried out at all. In 1899 Mr. Herbert Putnam had been appointed Librarian of the Library of Congress, which only two years before had been housed in a new building. In 1904, acting under the advice of the council of the American Historical Association and the Bureau of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, he offered the resources of the library, as far as he was able at the time, to aid in the execution of the plan that Mr. Stevens had at heart and he invited the American Historical Association to furnish the necessary expert assistance. Professor Osgood and the writer were delegated for that purpose, and the latter has been privileged to serve in that capacity off and on for a quarter of a century. Naturally the scholars who were preparing the guides for the Carnegie Institution became the experts upon whose services Mr. Putnam could rely for the selection of the material to be transcribed.

After careful consideration it was decided to begin with the British archives, where lay the largest and most important collection of documents relating to the subject, and to copy systematically all manuscripts relating, not only to the continental colonies, but also to the West Indies. By the middle of the year 1905, the first bundles of transcripts began to come in, and from that day to this, steadily year by year, the great work has been going on. Thousands upon thousands of folio pages, transcribed with great care and accuracy and in a form admirably suited to the needs of the student, under the direction of Mr. Stevens' own firm in London and according to the methods that Mr. Stevens himself had employed, have

gradually been accumulating on the shelves of the library. The greater part of the material is from the British archives, and concerns, as was certain to be the case, our colonial period; but a large number of transcripts are now coming in from French, Spanish, Mexican, and Cuban archives, and documents are being copied for the years after 1783 from the Foreign Office papers in the Public Record Office and from the Spanish archives. Since 1904 the actual work has been carried on under the immediate direction of the chiefs of the Division of Manuscripts: Mr. Worthington C. Ford, the late Dr. Gaillard Hunt, Dr. Charles Moore, who was for fifteen years acting chief, and the present incumbent, Dr. Jameson. It is now in full swing and aided by gifts from private individuals, notably from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for the acquisition, in copies and facsimiles, of source material for American history, is to continue on a constantly expanding scale. In the meanwhile, quietly and without publicity, the library has acquired the Peace Transcripts and the Stevens' Index, the latter a work in one hundred and eighty volumes, beautifully bound in red, blue, and brown morocco leather. Mr. Stevens' dream is already coming true, but on a scale the extent of which even he did not anticipate.

With the invention of the photostat, opportunities for greater usefulness are created and the scope of the undertaking has been widened. In the future not only documents, wherever possible, will be photostated, but also rare books and pamphlets, printed briefs, newspapers, and other similar material of value to the historian. A photostating machine has been set up in the British Museum and another in the Public Record Office and both have been in operation for over a year. By the use of this device better results will be obtained for certain classes of manuscripts and for all printed matter. Much pamphlet literature of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and even nineteenth centuries, both as to rarity and

to historical value, is of almost equal importance with the literature in manuscript. During the earlier centuries pamphlets were more widely read than were newspapers, and presented more accurately the prevailing thought of the day. Not infrequently they printed the talk of the coffee-houses, which the newspapers did not pretend to do. A collection of facsimiled pamphlets, gathered from the great centers where such rarities are to be found, such as the British Museum, the Henry E. Huntington Library, the William L. Clements Library, and the John Carter Brown Library, will result eventually in a body of pamphlet literature in the Library of Congress without equal anywhere in the world. The possibilities of the photostat are limited only by the depth of the purse. Missing numbers in sets, voids in series of parliamentary papers or other official publications, earlier or later editions of a pamphlet already possessed, mutilated or imperfect pages and title pages, and so on indefinitely, can be supplied by means of the photostat at no prohibitive expense.

Under Mr. Putnam's leadership, the Library of Congress as an archive center has been completely transformed. Its privileges are no longer confined to members of Congress and sundry officers of government, justices of the Supreme Court, and members of the diplomatic corps as was the case in 1864. It no longer occupies cramped quarters in which under the old system books and manuscripts were heaped up in crevices and out-of-the-way corners, down in the crypt, hidden in darkness from access or observation, littering the floors and crowding the alcoves in double rows (I use the language of the librarian's reports), so that obtaining a volume, particularly one out of the range of general reading, was a question of time and patience. It now occupies a building of great architectural beauty, and for the present at least of ample capacity, and is maintained by liberal appropriations from Congress, whose pride of possession stands today

in striking contrast with the cautious attitude of one of its predecessors, which in 1898 struck out of the librarian's budget the sum requested for the purchase of manuscripts. It has attracted the attention of donors, both of money and manuscripts, and has demonstrated thereby that wise management and a growing usefulness to the nation at large is the surest way to awaken a spirit of emulation among those with manuscripts to give and money to endow. Whereas before it was merely the private library of Congress, it has now become a national institution, second to none in the wealth and variety of its manuscript collections and in its power to serve, broadly and generously, all classes, readers and students alike, who look to it for help and guidance. It is, as has been well said, "the one bright light amid the encircling gloom which envelops the archival situation in Washington."

If an institution is the lengthened shadow of one man, then the Library of Congress, as it stands today, is the product of Mr. Putnam's thirty years of service to the nation. Others will write of what the library means in the field of printed books, but the historical scholar, keeping with difficulty within the bounds of moderation, will write of what it has done for the materials, both in manuscript and print, essential to the writing of American history. By bringing together great masses of transcribed documents relating to the entire British world of the West—West Indian as well as continental—it has widened immensely the vision and opportunity of the student, and by just so much, has brought nearer to a consummation a history of this country that will be comprehensive, scholarly, and true. The gathering of all this material into one homogeneous collection in the city of Washington has made it possible for hundreds of students, who would find it difficult to go abroad, to consult rapidly and with the utmost convenience the sources most necessary

for their purpose. By overrunning the bounds of state and section and placing no limits upon the character of the documents to be copied, provided they concern our history in some way, the library has made itself a national and almost an international repository, serving the scholar wherever found. By making this vast body of raw material available for the student, without other restrictions than such as are necessary for the proper preservation of the manuscript, it has set an example that other librarians and custodians are bound to follow. It is inconceivable today that any private collector of documents, sufficient in scope and importance to attract investigators, should acquire such materials for his own gratification only. The spirit that underlies the management of the Huntington and Clements libraries and that is at work in the minds of many interested in the future of our local historical societies is the same on a smaller scale as that which has made the Library of Congress what it is today. In personnel, spirit, organization, and vision for the future the Library of Congress is a model archival center for the student of American history.

THREE ERAS IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY FREDERICK W. ASHLEY

AT the midpoint of its history, sixty-four years ago, the Library of Congress was nothing more than the name implied—a legislative collection (numbering but eighty-two thousand volumes) assembled in the course of its sixty-four years for the sole use of the federal legislature. It was national in no sense except ownership—the nation owned it. But so far was it surpassed among American libraries in size, in quality, and in service performed, that in an article on American libraries published that year in *Harper's Monthly,* the Library of Congress was not mentioned! So matters stood with it on the last day of December, 1864; and there was nothing in its past that remotely presaged a future in any degree more notable. There was no apparent warrant for believing that its next sixty-four years would do more than repeat the era that, unknown to the world, was ending that day.

Within the next sixty-four *days,* however, the Library of Congress was visibly moving toward the point—now long since attained—at which it stood surpassed in size by no more than two libraries in the world, rendering an international service surpassed by none.

Considering its situation in December, 1864, and in December, 1928, and remembering that its main source of supplies remained unchanged through all the years since the beginning in 1800, three questions naturally arise: Why was the first half of its existence so barren of results? What started so suddenly the great advance? What forces have been at work to evolve from the negligible nucleus of 1864 the na-

tional library of the American people, the most important library organism of the Western Hemisphere, third in the world?

Now the reasons why

> In the midway of this [its] mortal life

the library found itself still

> In a gloomy wood astray,
> Gone from the path direct,

did not include the lack of a conception of it as a great national library, nor lack of learning in its governing board, nor lack of money. True, not many in the early days had dreamed the dream of an American national library and their dreams were not potent; but the idea was abroad. Thomas Jefferson clearly had it when on the title-page of his own private collection (the purchase of which more than repaired the total loss of the first Library of Congress) was printed in 1815 the proud name "The Library of the United States."

A century before the Rockefeller grant for the acquisition of source material for American history, Edward Everett on the twenty-fourth of February, 1827, ". . . introduced . . . a resolution providing that copies of all papers in the archives of Great Britain relating to the history of the American Colonies be secured and placed in the Library of Congress." Nothing came of it. Similar movements were initiated, in Congress and out, down to 1860, without result.

In 1836 was lost the opportunity of doubling the size and quadrupling the intrinsic value of the collection at about half its cost when Henry Clay, still resentful of Jackson's political dismissal of the librarian seven years before, caused to be "laid upon the table" the Library Committee's urgent recommendation to purchase the famous Boutourlin library.

It was Henry Clay, however, who in 1850 presented in the

Senate a resolution authorizing the Library Committee to buy the manuscript of Washington's Farewell Address. The ensuing debate sheds light upon the difficulties generally encountered by the committee in any project outside the most ordinary routine. Jefferson Davis objected to the resolution: "There is nothing to be gained by the purchase of this manuscript any more than there would be in the purchase of a walking-stick which Washington used." In the House Andrew Johnson "asked in the name of his constituents and in the name of the American people what was this whole manuscript worth? . . . A great many men—gentlemen as they were called—were ready to make a display of their patriotism by putting their hands into other people's pockets." But Alexander H. Stevens of Georgia said: "Let the paper, then, be bought; let it be placed in the Library where the people from all sections, when they come up to the Capitol, may look upon it and read it; and when they behold the lines made by the hand of Washington may they invoke and catch the spirit of patriotism, harmony, and love of country which animated his breast when he traced these wise and fatherly admonitions to his countrymen."

So the resolution passed (on February 6); but over the opposition of forty-five Representatives. On the day of its approval, February 12, the manuscript was bid in at auction by James Lenox of New York for $2,300! The enemies of the project were successful in defeat!

Throughout the first half of its existence, Congress as a whole kept the library under its own administrative control. True, there was (from 1805) a Joint Committee on the Library,—three members of the Senate and three of the House, just as there is today. But the function of the committee was little more than to select the books to be purchased.

The committee was not lacking in ability, literary taste, general information, or public spirit. It numbered in its tran-

sitory membership such men as John Quincy Adams and his son, Charles Francis, Lewis Cass, Rufus Choate, Caleb Cushing, Edward Everett, Horace Mann, George Perkins Marsh, Gulian C. Verplanck, and many other able men of high repute. Nor were they and their colleagues wanting in vision. As early as 1817 they planned for a separate library building designed to be a national ornament. But this and many another fine plan came to naught. In the committee's planning there was no continuity of purpose. Plans changed as the membership changed. There could be no wise settled policy operating over a period of years to the attainment of an ideal. And such ideals as took concrete form were subject to the will of the multitude either not interested in the library at all or only in such parts of it as were of immediate use to themselves. Library matters were decided by politics. One winces to see Daniel Webster voting against payment for the Jefferson Collection three months after Congress had authorized the contract of purchase. The vote on the purchase of the Jefferson and Hamilton manuscripts was sixty ayes, fifty-eight nays! The wonder is, not that the Library of Congress was so small, but that it was so large, in 1864.

By that time there had been spent upon it for all purposes combined, an aggregate of $813,300—on the average about $12,700 per year. The library appropriations for this single current fiscal year, 1928-29, amount to $2,170,847, a sum that would have paid all the earlier institution's bills for 170 years. A miracle, a series of miracles, must have been wrought in the interval!

As the year 1864 came to its end, the position of librarian fell vacant. By some miracle of good fortune there was at hand to fill it, in the person of the chief assistant librarian, a true lover of books, a librarian by nature, possessed of a vision of the potentialities of the place, Ainsworth Rand Spofford, a young man—still under thirty—of indomitable

energy and singleness of purpose, to whose mind the prime function of a national library was the collection and preservation of the national literature. President Lincoln appointed him librarian on December 31, 1864. He had been chief assistant librarian since 1861. He was primarily a collector of books.

On March 3, 1865 (his sixty-third day in the new office), were approved two Acts of Congress,—one appropriating money to treble the library's shelf space; the other to bring into the library automatically one copy of every American copyright article—book, map, print. The advance had begun.

The next year, with the active support of the Smithsonian Institution, its forty-thousand-volume collection of the publications of the learned societies of the world was by law transferred to the Library of Congress. Subsequent accessions have followed it. In 1867 the present system of international exchanges was established; and Congress bought for $100,000 the Peter Force Collection of sixty thousand volumes of Americana. In 1870 the entire copyright business was brought under the librarian's direction, where it still remains; the requirement as to the deposit of single copies was doubled; the existing copyright collection of twenty-nine thousand volumes was taken over. The Library of Congress now began to take place among notable collections. By that time, too, "the unpacking of books arriving from all quarters, the binding business, the cataloguing, were all constantly going on in those public parts of the library which should be kept free for readers. Masses of books in preparation for their proper location in the library, were necessarily under the eye and almost under the feet of the Members of Congress and other visitors."

So in 1871 began, by sheer force of necessity, a campaign for a separate building. Fifteen years of argument, appeal, entreaty, discussion, postponement, congestion increasing

hour by hour and saved from utter chaos only by the librarian's phenomenal memory, resulted in appropriations in 1886 and, ten years later, in the ample and magnificent structure into which the collections, grown twelvefold, were moved in the summer of 1897.

Dr. Spofford, having seen the consummation of his labors and his hopes, now, after thirty-three and a half years, resumed his old place as chief assistant (which he held until his death in 1908). His successor, John Russell Young, taking office on July 1, 1897, supervised the removal from the Capitol to the new building, directed the separation of the copyright, map, music, and print collections into distinctive departments and the establishment of a reading room for the blind. His brief term ended with his death, January 17, 1899. Then ended the library's second era,—thirty-five years.

The situation now presented was most critical. Although high bibliographic authority declared the library at this juncture to be "in fact the National Library of America," it was such *in posse* only. It had only three elements of potential greatness: it was the creature of a powerful government, which, however, had done really little for it except to house it in "such a building as the world had never before seen devoted to the storage of books"; its heterogeneous collection was first among American libraries— but first in size alone. It was lacking in distinction, comprehensiveness, and serviceability. Its future was still unplanned: the development to be sought, the apparatus to be provided, the service to be rendered, still unconsidered.

An unwise selection of a commander, all too possible, might deflect the great ship from all true courses or set it back into the doldrums of forty years before. Thereupon the American Library Association, performing through its Council one of the greatest services it has yet rendered to the library world, urged upon President McKinley the view that

the library "should stand at the head of American libraries, the best organized and best equipped of all," at its head "a man of the widest possible previous experience . . . of proved capacity for library organization." To the gratification of the library profession generally, Herbert Putnam was appointed; at a personal sacrifice he accepted; and, taking office on April 5, 1899, inaugurated a development unparalleled in the history of libraries.

In the long series of his annual reports none is more interesting to the reader-between-the-lines than the first of them, written within a few weeks after taking office, disclosing then-existing conditions as presented to an eye fresh to the scene, and revealing a quick comprehension of deficiencies, necessities, and opportunities.

The building, nominally completed, was undifferentiated for special purposes; large spaces of it were unoccupied. On the shelves were a million books, with spaces for eight hundred thousand more. (It had been supposed to provide amply for a century to come, but within the next ten years a new stack was provided to hold another million volumes.) In heaps upon the floors were "tons of periodicals," great piles of other unsorted material that, later, proved to include two hundred and fifty thousand musical compositions, three hundred thousand sheets of maps, two hundred thousand prints. In packing cases were twenty-five thousand manuscripts. These vast, undigested masses of material were comparable to a rich but undeveloped mine. The book collection, huge, inorganic, lacking systematic classification and adequate catalogues was without any shelf-list. There was a rudimentary staff-organization. The entire force, caretakers excepted, numbered 130 persons. There was "not a single employee with any scientific training. . . . No one competent to make the collection of prints educationally useful. . . ."

For the ensuing year requests were made for four new

divisions, a readjustment of salaries, a doubling of the book fund, a trebling of the fund for printing and binding.

Two years later (1901) the indiscriminate collections had been divided into groups, arranged, and digested. Appropriate physical equipment and personal service for each main group had been determined upon and in large part provided. A system of classification, with elastic provision for future growth, had been decided upon and initiated, in considerable detail, even then. Increased appropriations urged upon Congress and granted had remedied the more obvious imperfections in the collections and in the working apparatus for the classifiers, cataloguers, and bibliographers.

The accessions of books had risen from thirty-one thousand in 1899 to seventy-six thousand in 1901. New divisions to care for accessions, periodicals, and documents had been created and set going. The annual appropriations had increased from $340,000 in 1900 to $560,000 for 1902. The staff had grown from 250 to 289 persons. Branches of the Government Printing Office, employing sixty-seven persons, had been established within the library to attend to its printing and binding. Catalogue cards were being printed at the rate of 225 titles a day and the distribution of cards to outside libraries was under way. Eight important bibliographical publications, including over 2,300 pages, had been issued.

All this, within two years—swift demonstrations of the new commander's clear vision, his broad conception of the vast field to be occupied by a national library, his great administrative ability. But merely the beginnings of things to come.

From this point onward, while the resources were expanding, the business of "putting the house in order"—clearing up a century's arrearages—was kept ever in view. Accessions of books came in at the average annual rate of

96,800 volumes. (For the past four years the annual rate has been 137,000.)

At the close of the twenty-fifth year (1924) all available spaces in the building, now fully equipped, were crowded, although the linear shelf space had grown to 101 miles. The collections now exceeded 3,179,000 books, 900,000 maps, 1,000,000 pieces of music, 500,000 prints. The collection of manuscripts for American history had become the largest extant. A systematic scheme of book-classification, covering over five thousand printed pages, elaborated for the library's own needs, was in use in eighty large libraries in America and Europe. More than three thousand libraries were effecting savings, prodigious in the aggregate, by purchasing at cost each year seven million Library of Congress printed catalogue cards. The staff, organized in twenty divisions, numbered 450 persons; the annual appropriation exceeded $1,000,000. The library had become the resort of serious investigators; the service to Congress had been intensified through the creation of a Legislative Reference Division; the nation was being aided (a) through thousands of book-loans to distant libraries in aid of research, (b) through mailed information in answer to questions, (c) through many published bibliographic lists. The library was now an organic institution, possessed of an effective, well-equipped plant, collections of great range and magnitude, a staff expert in technical library processes, and apparatus (in catalogue, classification, and bibliography) representing the most modern scientific methods, rendering diversified service to the Government, to scholarship, and to libraries, at home and abroad.

Progress is the product of wise projects plus strong purposes plus power to perform. The third of these ingredients had been supplied by Congress alone for almost a century and a quarter. It is a great tribute both to Congress and to Dr. Put-

nam that the Government has spent more than $26,000,000 upon the library during these thirty years. And in Congress such has been the enlarging appreciation of the true import of the library's development that the appropriations for this thirtieth year have corresponded exactly with the estimates submitted. Were more explicit approbation to be sought, let it be recorded that in January, 1928, the Library Committees of the two Houses, in publicly endorsing the American Library Association's resolution declaring the position of Librarian of Congress to be "the most distinguished and responsible library position in the United States," thus reported to Congress: "The present incumbent . . . has occupied the place since April, 1899, to the complete satisfaction of Congress. The work under his care has gone on with remarkable absence of friction and with great efficiency. Due to his zeal and ability the activities of the Library have been broadened to a noteworthy degree. He has aroused the admiration and enlisted the sympathetic interest of men whose aid still further expanding the usefulness of the Library bids fair to be of far-spreading benefit."

Probably no achievement in Dr. Putnam's record is of greater moment than the evolution of the plan of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board, established by the Act of March 3, 1925. A century and a quarter of exclusively governmental support had seemingly blinded the American people to the possibility of aiding the national library through endowments. In its long history it had received but one such gift ($20,000 in 1904). In truth there existed no corporate body authorized to serve as trustee to receive, hold, and invest funds for the library. Since the creation of the board seven notable endowments and two still larger gifts for immediate disbursement have been received. What an outlook is opened into the future!

From the institution of thirty years ago has developed the

national library of today. But let no one suppose the transformation to have been the easy result of automatic action, or the product of any forces inherent in the original organization. It was a result early planned, pursued through perplexities, through temporary reverses, with labor, with courage, at cost of renunciations and sacrifices. *Non sine pulvere palma.*

In a moment of keen gratification in the recent great development of the Music Division, Dr. Putnam said, not long ago, with characteristic self-forgetfulness:

> The vitality of the work of the Government is not due to the administrator. It is due to the men associated with him, who, from the spark within them, light the flame, and with their devotion nurse and guard it. Theirs is the art; it is they who are the artists; it is they who create and achieve. The business of the administrator is to discover them, to secure them, to try to lift himself to their level—not in achievement, but in the understanding which will enable him to carry into effect what they conceive, and provide the means. He may then bask in the credit of the results—throughout, however, thanking the Providence which has bestowed them.

His force, staff, rank and file, executives, and specialists alike, all regarding this view—but one of many public expressions of his appreciation—as giving to them far, far too great a credit for results first imaged in his mind and by him outlined and directed, would make their own (with wide amplifications) this acknowledgment of one of his former division chiefs: "If ever (our) profession comes to a full appreciation of what is being done in the Library of Congress, may it not forget that the efforts of the specialists would have been wholly futile without the liberal, broad-minded attitude of the Chief of Chiefs, Mr. Herbert Putnam, toward our Art."

Most of us know that in truth we owe to him the path we follow, the light upon it, the impulse, and the goal!

THE SIZE FACTOR IN LIBRARY PROBLEMS

BY CLARIBEL R. BARNETT

THE problem of size is as old as administration and administration is as old as civilization. It is ever present and whether we realize it or not, is continually challenging our attention. It is a veritable Proteus in the innumerable forms which it takes—in the largest project and the smallest job, for the high and the low, for the rich and the poor, on the land and the sea, and in the air.

In the business world we see industrial leaders trying to reorganize large-scale production on the "small shop basis"; in agriculture, economists endeavoring to find the proper size of farm unit; and at Harvard, the experiment being tried of establishing a "college within a college." In all these we see the effort to combine the advantages of the large with those of the small. Can the principles adopted in solving these problems in the business and educational field throw some side lights on one of the most difficult size problems in the library field, that of the very small public library? It seems quite certain that it cannot be successfully operated as a separate and independent unit, but what is needed is a demonstration of how a satisfactory service may be organized that will enable these minor units to function at their capacity. This would be a valuable contribution to the size problem and a most important step in library progress.

In the library profession interest in the problems of size has manifested itself for many years. In fact, it was in the very early days of the American Library Association that the idea of standard-sized cards was put forth by Mr. Melvil Dewey, an idea which has had a most far-reaching effect, not only in the library world, but also in the business world. It was a

simple device, but what important coöperation and coördination it has made possible! As a development from this standard-sized card came the standard-sized trays and cabinets which have added incalculably to library efficiency and economical administration. It is pleasant to remember that in this matter of standard sizes the library profession was a pioneer. Standard dimensions have now been agreed upon by the manufacturers of many articles—brick, lumber, building tile, beds, bed blankets, and milk-bottle caps, to mention only a few—but libraries and the manufacturers of library equipment with their standard dimensions were in the van. Even before the organization of the American Library Association, American libraries had made progress in the solution of the size problem in the establishment of branch libraries in large cities to give book service to all sections of the city. Not many years later came traveling libraries and the idea of library extension to serve dwellers in rural districts and others remote from library centers.

Such were a few of the contributions in our early library history to the settlement of problems of size. Since then many more have been at least temporarily and partially, if not permanently and completely, solved. Most problems of size, in the nature of the case, cannot be fully settled for all time. We therefore have today our full quota demanding attention in varying degree. In attempting to analyze these problems, the conviction must be borne in upon one that the heart of the difficulty in each and all of them is the adaptation of size to special needs. As a guiding star in our efforts to make these adaptations, we have the wise dictate of Aristotle, "the master of those who know," that "in all things of use there is a limit of size set by their end." This is a most illuminating thought. It applies to our library buildings, our library finances, our personnel problems, and to the extension of library service. If there is such an ideal limit then it becomes our duty to try to find it in all things and in all places.

Perhaps because building problems and those connected with growing collections are more tangible, they have not yet presented such baffling difficulties as have other aspects of the size question. The perfect library building has not yet been evolved, but much progress has been made and is being made at the present time. The stack form of construction for the economical and compact storage of books in lieu of the old galleries and alcoves was a valuable solution of one aspect of the size problem and a further development in stack architecture is the stack tower in the new Yale library. Still another solution for book storage which has been proposed in connection with the housing of great collections in England and may come before very long in this country, is the building of repositories of the warehouse type detached from the main library building for the economical storage of books infrequently used. As far as the limit of size of a library building is concerned, it is generally forced upon us by the amount of money we can obtain for its erection, but there is no rest for the weary from thinking, for within this limit there are other limits to be observed in providing the ideal amount of space for each library function.

In spite of the fact that our large reference libraries are bursting from the great flood of printed matter, there has been no serious discussion of arbitrarily limiting these collections in size. In the "gay nineties," however, it will be remembered that such a plan was actually proposed for medium-sized public libraries. It was called the Quincy plan from the Thomas Crane Library at Quincy, Massachusetts, where the plan was carried out for a time at least. The trustees, concluding that a library of between fifteen and twenty thousand volumes was sufficient for the needs of the twenty thousand residents of the city, decided not to let the library grow beyond twenty thousand while the wants of the city

remained as they were. When the volumes exceeded that number they were to be weeded out. The consensus of opinion which came out of the discussion of this plan at that time was that, however excellent in theory it might be, it was perhaps the most difficult thing in librarianship to put successfully into practice. As much wisdom and library experience is needed in the work of weeding out as in selecting books for a library at the start. There is also the difficulty of deciding how much a library is needed and this difficulty would be magnified in a growing town or city. Foresight of a high degree would have to be exercised and generous provision made for the probable growth of population. The arbitrary limit of the number of volumes would certainly need to be changed with the change in the size of the population. Some limitations in the growth of libraries are obviously necessary. For practical purposes it is necessary to draw a line somewhere and the line quite often must be arbitrary, but, nevertheless, we are under obligations to draw this arbitrary line as near as possible to the ideal "limit of size set by the end." The setting of arbitrary limits as to the number of volumes which a library should contain does not appeal as being thoughtful or workable. A much more scientific solution, certainly, is the Ranck plan for library appropriations which is based on the limit of one dollar, or other fixed sum, per capita population.

Coöperative book buying among our large reference libraries, a project which fortunately is receiving increasing support, is another scientific solution of the size problem which has been proposed and seems vital to the continued success of these libraries. As pointed out by Dr. Bishop in his paper on the "Record of Science," it is being realized more keenly every year that all the libraries cannot have everything for "there's not enough to go round nor money enough to buy everything." Here again we see there must be limitation and

the key to the limitation is specialization based on joint agreement as to the fields which each library will cover.

In any consideration of conscious efforts in the library field toward the successful adaptation of size to the special needs of service in a single community and its substitution of quality for mere quantity, one immediately thinks of the Cleveland plan of departmentalized reference and circulation work. The basis of the plan is essentially an effort to combine the advantages of the large and the small, the general and the special. Abundant testimony to the success of the experiment is further proof of the importance of efforts and study to solve the size factor in library problems of administration.

In speaking of the subject of the increase in size and cost of our libraries in his address on the future of library work at the American Library Association Conference in 1918, Dr. Bostwick expressed the opinion that it would not be possible for libraries to keep up the swift rate of progress which has been made in the past. He said there must be further increase as libraries are not now reaching every person and every class but that there would not and could not be mere increase in quantity—that quality must be substituted for quantity in our ideals. He called attention to the fact that twenty years before the date of his address the institutions now constituting the New York Public Library circulated a million books and that in 1917 it circulated ten million. He then asked the question whether anyone believed that twenty years later it would circulate one hundred million. Only half of the twenty years has passed but it is nevertheless interesting to make comparisons. In doing so, we read from the report for 1927 that the circulation in that year was 10,277,765, only slightly above the ten million of 1917. This would seem to bear out Dr. Bostwick's prophecy that the old rate of progress could not be kept up.

This recognition of definite limitations is one of the most important aspects of the problems of size, whether it concerns the size of collections, the number of personnel, the forms of library organization, or the scope of service. The perspicacity to see when under the particular conditions existing these limitations have been reached, coupled with the ability to see further opportunities for growth, is what constitutes leadership and vision. Librarians have had an inspiring instance of this ability in the recent developments in the Library of Congress under Dr. Putnam. In what the Library of Congress "had done up to four years ago and along the conventional lines intended still to do," to quote from Dr. Putnam's last address at the American Library Association Conference, "the government had reached about the limit in the *forms* of outlay feasible from the public treasury." For our great national library to have stopped there would have been to retard progress but to Dr. Putnam "the organization and the apparatus and the demonstrated uses suggested potentialities of service more diversified and far-reaching, if funds from other sources might coöperate." In his success in securing the necessary legislation to make such gifts possible and his success in interesting donors in the potentialities for service inherent in such gifts he has greatly advanced the facilities for scholarly research and has also advanced the library profession.

Probably many librarians going home wearied after the day's struggles with this insoluble problem of definitely declaring where one thing ends and another begins have longed for some general laws or rules which could be applied to its various aspects, something to take the place of the guesses which it is now necessary to make in lieu of opinions based on fact, some rule other than that of trial and error. Are there no general laws which can be applied or is there no body of principles? Here and there in particular libraries we see in-

stances where the problem of size has been solved with notable success. The librarian responsible for this solution has seemed inspired, but was there back of the success some recognition of certain laws and principles which, if formulated, might also be applied by other struggling librarians, though under different conditions? If we accept the saying by Aristotle that in all articles of use there is a limit of size set by their end, how then are we to determine that limit in our various library problems? Where can we find our solutions?

A search of recent significant library literature discloses scattering references to the size problem, but there are few summaries, deductions, conclusions, or generalizations which we can take as guiding principles. As a result of the *Survey of Libraries* we are better off than we were but the goal of uniform statistics has not yet been reached and the number of accurate standards by which a librarian may measure his needs and expect to arrive at results of real significance in the setting of proper limits under conditions existing in his own library are still altogether too few. Until such time as librarians have definitely formulated the laws, principles, and generalizations bearing upon this problem, we must, apparently, get them, if any such can be made, from other fields of endeavor and by analogy apply them to our own library problems. By means of these comparisons and analogies we may possibly approach a few rules of administration. "Many significant facts appear when it is assumed that a law in one field may operate in another field." It may therefore be worth while to try to find some such "size rules" in other fields.

In nature we are told by a recent scientific writer that the absolute size of any living organism, whether plant or animal, is by no means a matter of indifference. A blade of grass if multiplied by ten in height and thickness would be broken by the lightest breath of air or even by its own

weight. From this he draws the lesson that when any living organism is increased proportionately in all its dimensions,—length, breadth, and height,—the purely physical conditions which control it may be thereby altered so as to prevent it from being capable of continuing its existence. Likewise, it would be a physical impossibility for our familiar long-legged spider to exist if enlarged to the size of even a medium-sized mammal. We can see the reason for this if we take a solid block of wood and multiply it in size, for we know that the surface will be increased according to the square, whereas the volume will be cubed. The same arithmetical law applies in increasing the size of any animal. The relation of the surface to volume is altered, although the animal has not been changed in form. In the words of the scientist, "as the size of an animal increases the weight of the body augments much more rapidly than the available power of motion since the latter is directly dependent upon the cross-section of the muscles which increase according to the square of the linear dimension, whereas the weight of the body increases according to its cube. Thus magnitude conditions the functioning of living organisms." This sounds complicated, but we can readily see the application in the differences in functioning of large and small organizations. A plan of organization that works well under certain conditions of size will seldom if ever work as successfully in a larger or smaller library without some adaptations in the plan.

In engineering we find a similar law, for it is a well-known fact, we are told, that "the construction of small models is often quite an easy matter, whereas to develop them on a large scale presents serious technical problems which can often be solved only by some new method of attack—that in any case a simple enlargement of small models is quite out of the question." Various illustrations of this law in connection with library buildings have been pointed out by Mr.

Chalmers Hadley. For example, the "butterfly type" of library buildings which has merits for the medium-sized library building, has glaring defects for the small library.

In mechanics it is a well-known law that small bodies can turn quickly but where large movement is involved the road must be seen far in advance to allow for obstacles. This law of momentum applied to problems of administration has been stated thus: "The more rapidly affairs move and the greater the interests involved in a single transaction the greater is the need for the theories of action deduced from specific facts and for such a calculus of probabilities as hypotheses alone can afford." Stated in simpler terms for libraries, we would say: The larger the library and the larger the project, the greater the need for wise planning on account of the difficulty later of change. Its application for cataloguing and classification problems is particularly pertinent.

From chemistry we get the illustration of the "saturation point." While this point has not yet been reached in any library service, even in the matter of circulation, nevertheless the remarks of Dr. Bostwick which have previously been quoted, and similar remarks of other leaders in the profession, show a realization that such saturation points may be reached which will demand some change in ideals and methods.

From law we get the rule of precedent. If we analyze this rule it is evident that size is at the bottom of our fear of it. We can give a privilege to one person without much concern, but if we thereby create a precedent which involves twenty-five, fifty, or one hundred persons, caution bids us hesitate.

In the field of agriculture, in connection with the advice offered for its relief, we read that "specialization in the production of a few well-adapted products rather than wide diversification is becoming the rule of successful farming. In such ways as this, business principles are being applied to

farming." The application of this principle in various library problems is receiving increasing support. Specialization, in fact, seems the key to the solution of many of the problems of size. To the phrase "bigger and better" often needs to be added the qualifying clause "if deeper."

In the field of economics we have the "law of diminishing returns." This is applicable particularly in matters relating to personnel. With a large staff the need for more machinery of supervision and more records becomes necessary. While in the nature of the case all these records and rules of procedure are unavoidable in a large unit, it must be admitted that they are rather unproductive as far as results for the public served are concerned. With a staff of one efficient person we get maximum results. With a staff of two equally efficient we may get nearly twice as much work done, but it is fairly sure that with four the ratio is somewhat less and with eight it is still less. We sometimes are appalled at the thought of what the ratio is when the staff has increased to one hundred. As to the limit of maximum efficiency in modern business units, we are told that there is no definite answer, no fixed goal, that it differs from time to time and from industry to industry, depending upon various factors. Nevertheless, there are apparently certain principles governing cost of production which aid the business administrator in determining the efficiency limit in the size of his own particular unit. The lesson which is drawn by the business man from these principles is "to do everything possible to increase the efficiency of the plant he has rather than increase its size." Does it not also apply to libraries? When the growth of the library does make necessary an increase in the staff, it is obvious that we should seize the opportunity for specialization which size undoubtedly brings and thus minimize the disadvantages. It would be difficult to imagine a group of one hundred cataloguers all doing the same kind of work without any differ-

entiation, but the principle applies also in very much smaller units in the matter of subordination of details. We know that as organizations grow the definition of what constitutes detail for an officer should expand, but to know the ideal point when certain details should be turned over to a subordinate is extremely difficult.

In the field of military tactics an analogy has been drawn for the business administrator between Napoleon's practice of concentrating the masses of his troops to obtain advantage at the point of contact with the enemy, and similar policies in industrial affairs. "Thus," said Napoleon, "I beat it in detail and the victory which was the result was always, as you see, the triumph of the larger over the lesser." In the library field can we not draw an analogy in favor of group action? There are many problems in library work which a single library cannot settle by itself, but with group action they can be settled. Realization of this fact has already resulted in the accomplishing of many great coöperative undertakings by the American Library Association. It seems certain that in the future group action among libraries will be still more important than it has been in the past. This gives hope that in the course of time more and more studies will be made of the size factor in library problems.

From the realm of the poet we have the best rule of all, Horace's rule of the "golden mean," of neither too large nor too small. To elaborate on it is unnecessary.

This brief compilation of "size rules" is a mere beginning, the meager efforts of a single compiler. But alas! alas! it is feared that even a joint compilation of all the words of wisdom on this subject down through the centuries, capped with a detailed author, subject, and title index, would not relieve us of the painful necessity of thinking.

Finally, in spite of all that has been said on the subject of limits, the demands of the spirit bid us remember the advice

of a great architect and man of vision, Daniel H. Burnham: "Make no little plans, they have no magic to stir men's blood and probably these will not be realized. Make big plans; aim high in hope and work, remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever growing insistency."

TOM SAWYER, DETECTIVE

THE ORIGIN OF THE PLOT

BY J. CHRISTIAN BAY

SÖREN JENSEN QUIST, born in 1571 in Aalsö, Denmark, inherited an ecclesiastical career. He was educated for the ministry and took charge of the congregation at Veilby about the year 1600. Nothing whatever is known about his personal matters until 1607 when the first episode of his life's tragedy unfolded itself. A kirmess was held in the neighboring town of Grenaa on September 21. This being a Sunday, the minister was unable to attend, but his wife, Eline, went to see the sights and to amuse herself. A houseman, one of the minister's, her husband's, retainers, drove her to town; his name was Jesper Nielsen Hovgaard: a favorite and trusted servant of the parsonage. But Madam Eline was not merely bent on pleasure; a pair of oxen were entrusted to her, to be sold at a good price if possible, and these oxen were driven to town by her herdsman, Jep Skade.

Toward evening Madam Eline, having sold the oxen, desired to return home, but looked in vain for her coachman, Jesper. She waited and waited, but as he failed to appear, she left town without him, thinking that he had, perhaps, overdone his celebration of a holiday and, sobered at last, would find his way home by himself. He did not return that night, nor the next day. He never returned. He never again was seen by anybody.

Jesper's mysterious disappearance gave rise to ominous rumors, some whispered, others wantonly shouted: The missing man had been murdered by the Rev. Sören Quist. Curiously, this sinister hearsay was eagerly fanned by Jep Skade, the herdsman. He, however, appeared inspired by various

enemies of the minister, notably Jens Mikkelsen, a nephew of Jesper and a clever old sinner. Although of more than mature age this Jens had had the hardihood to lift his eyes to the minister's daughter, Maren, a maiden of scarcely sixteen. His suit met with no encouragement at the parsonage, consequently he struck an attitude of offense and demanded publicly that Jep Skade, the herdsman, appear in court and state his case.

On August 18, 1612, five years after Jesper's disappearance, Jep Skade did walk into court and swore that he knew nothing derogatory to the reputation of either the Rev. Sören Quist or his wife Eline; nor did he know what had become of the missing man. Nevertheless, he continued mumbling his sinister accusations out of court, but nobody heeded him, and his axe bid fair to be buried, as nothing happened during the following ten years to revive public action.

In 1622, fifteen years after the beginning of the mystery, the minister's hired man was engaged, on a bright summer day, in excavating the ground near the cemetery dike for clay, and there uncovered a number of human bones. This, in itself, might seem natural enough, considering that the boundaries between the minister's fields and the churchyard were traditionally indefinite. Ordering the excavation filled, Mr. Quist dismissed the incident. But now the old rumors came to life. Jens Mikkelsen resumed his activities and finally demanded an investigation. The parish constable evidently moved traditionally slowly, and it was not until the year 1625 that the Rev. Sören Quist entered Kalö Castle as a prisoner and a suspected murderer.

Court convened, and our old friend Jep Skade, the herdsman, without regard to his testimony of 1612, related what he now remembered of the events on the night after the kirmess in 1607. Madam Eline, after all, did return home with Jesper, but so late that the Rev. Mr. Quist took offense.

Jep having returned home in time for supper, remained in the dining hall. At a table in this hall, the minister and his brother discussed a mug of beer. The door opened, and in walked Jesper Hovgaard, joyous with his memories of the kirmess. Catching sight of him, the minister charged him with having returned home at an improper hour and, using violent language, finally struck him above the ear with a pewter mug. Jesper fell under the table. His adversary struck him again and again, smashed the table and threw the splintered top in a heap over the wounded man, who presently died. Later, Mr. Quist and his brother buried him in the garden.

This was the testimony, supported from various sides to the satisfaction of the court. Details are few and scattered, but the result seems to have been inevitable: The Rev. Sören Quist was convicted and sentenced. The King's Counsellors approved the conviction and the sentence. In the fall of 1626, the nineteen-year-old tragedy attained its final conclusion by the execution of the unfortunate minister.

THREE hundred years after this tragedy, in 1829, popular memory of this terrible series of events was revived by the publication of a novel, *The Minister of Veilby,* by Steen Steensen Blicher, himself a minister, located within easy reach of the reminiscences of the old events above summarized.

Steen Steensen Blicher (1782-1848) is one of Denmark's favorite poets of the first half of the nineteenth century. His life forms a series of soul-stirring events never to be forgotten as long as Danish letters last. His novels, while written during a romantic period, contain a wholesome element of realism. Blicher's novels continue to charm each new generation. This humble, diligent minister, who lived and died in poverty, has grown as revered in his land as has Hawthorne in ours.

In 1829 he published in his periodical, *Nordlyset,* the novel founded on the Quist tragedy, and in time this remarkable story found its place in his collected works, being repeatedly translated into German as time passed. No English translation of any of his writings ever appeared, except two novelettes, which were printed in Mrs. Bushby's collection, *The Danes sketched by themselves* (3 vols.), London, 1864.[1]

The *Minister of Veilby* announced itself "a story of a crime." It was built upon the Quist drama and written in the form of a diary, the diarist being the supposed judge of the district where the events took place. There is a haunting charm of extreme sadness in the simple story, which opens with the young judge falling in love with the minister's daughter and winning her affection.

Then the tragedy unfolds. The headstrong minister; the accepted lover; the rejected suitor; the refractory servant, goaded into open insubordination by Quist's enemy; the servant's sudden disappearance; the sinister rumors, and in the end the trial. A dead body, found in the minister's garden, was identified as that of the missing man. Circumstantial evidence kept piling up, as the case proceeded.

But here Blicher introduces a new element. Quist, although fully convinced of his own innocence of the crime, is confused and overwhelmed by the evidence (he was seen in the garden on the night of the supposed murder, etc.) and assumes that he must have committed the crime in a state of somnambulism. On this assumption, and with this reservation, he makes a confession. And the fictional, but most convincingly realistic, diary concludes with a pathetic picture of the young daughter in her horror and grief—the judge, her betrothed husband, having pronounced the sentence of death

1. After this was written, Miss Hanna Astrup Larsen published a translation: "The Parson at Vejlby," in her *Denmark's Best Stories,* New York, 1928, pp. 15-67—a translation done with consummate skill.

on her father—as fate inevitably gathered them all into her lap and demanded a life for a life: "Tomorrow—at Raven Hill."

The final chapter of this great novel contains an extract from the autobiography of the unfortunate Sören Quist's successor. He relates that one evening, twenty-one years after the execution of his predecessor, a beggar entered the parsonage. On being questioned about his native place and his name he said that he came from nowhere, but years ago "they named me Niels Bruus."

"An ugly name," remarked the minister. "The name of a man who was murdered here a score of years ago."

Explanations followed. The beggar indeed proved to be the missing servant. He had, urged by a brother who hated Sören Quist, fled the country and roamed about the world. "But," he asked, "did the minister get into trouble on my account?"

He then related the horrible story: How he and his brother had quarreled with Quist; how Quist had given Niels a box on the head; how the brothers had dressed the body of a dead man in Niels's clothes and buried it in the garden of the parsonage, caused it to be found in time and superficially identified. Then, having invoked the law, Niels fled the country; and blind justice went into action.

This confession was made on a Saturday night. On the following Tuesday the beggar was found dead in the churchyard, stretched over the gravestone of the man he had wronged beyond repentance.

The *Minister of Veilby* promptly was translated into German. Although the author was one of the few Danish poets who opened the windows of his mind toward the West—he translated Ossian and *The Vicar of Wakefield* into Danish—none of his typical writings found their way into English.

Nevertheless, the novel outlined here is the basis upon

which Samuel L. Clemens built the plot of *Tom Sawyer, Detective.*

WHAT is the connection between the two authors, one renowned in the northern country and unknown in the western hemisphere, and Mark Twain, of world-renown? How did Mr. Clemens learn of the drama of Sören Quist's life?

Tom Sawyer, Detective, was written in Paris, in the latter part of January, 1895—probably the darkest period, in an outward sense, in Mr. Clemens' life. He wrote to Mr. H. H. Rogers, about January 20, that he had "got a first rate subject for a book. It kept me awake all night, and I began it and completed it in my mind." On January 23 he reports having taken a holiday—"the second deliberate holiday"—and written the story. He mentions it in connection with an offer from the Batcheller Syndicate for a short story and proceeds: ". . . the best I can do is to offer the longer one which I finished on my second holiday—*Tom Sawyer, Detective.* It makes 27 or 28000 words and is really written for grown folks, though I expect young folks to read it too. It transfers to the banks of the Mississippi the incidents of a strange murder which was committed in Sweden in old times."

The story was published in *Harper's Magazine* for August and September, 1896 (Vol. 93, pp. 344-361; 519-537) with the following footnote:

> Strange as the incidents of this story are, they are not inventions, but facts—even to the public confession of the accused. I take them from an old-time Swedish criminal trial, change the actors, and transfer the scene to America. I have added some details, but only a couple of them are important ones.

While Mr. Clemens credits the elements of the plot to Sweden, a Swedish source is impossible. The similarity to Blicher's novel is conclusive, the two plots being almost identical. The confusion of locality has no significance when we

recollect how commonly Scandinavia is defined by the larger component of its group. Jutland would easily be identified with Sweden when related to a matter of secondary importance.

But how did Mark Twain hear of the Veilby minister?

Years ago, when Mr. Clemens' wanderings were over, and he lived in comparative peace at Stormfield, in Redding, Connecticut, the writer laid this question before Mr. Albert Bigelow Paine, who made inquiries of the veteran author and found that he did not remember clearly just how the plot came to his attention,—nor did he care very much, because he did not consider Tom's and Huck's detective exploits a very creditable performance. He was certain, however, that he had not read the Danish novel anywhere, but that the plot was related to him by the lady of a diplomat. Mr. Clemens remembered pondering over the dramatic story all night and added that callers and even casual acquaintances often would tell him stories and unusual incidents by way of suggesting new fields for his imagination. He would forget most of them, "but this one stuck."

My curiosity about the matter had been roused by accounts appearing periodically in Danish papers charging Mr. Clemens with carelessness in regard to the use of his sources. The footnote in *Harper's Magazine* was unknown to most Danish writers, consequently the situation might easily be misunderstood. I did not wish to approach Mr. Clemens directly, but took occasion to correct the public impression in Denmark by a brief communication calling attention to the credit duly given when the novel was published.

This, as far as I know, ended the unfounded criticism. But the problem remained, at least until 1913. Paine's *Mark Twain* having appeared in 1912, but containing no mention of the matter, I reopened the inquiry.

Mr. Paine, in the notes which he collected for his biography

of Mark Twain during the comparatively few years of the great author's sojourn at Stormfield, does not trace the origin of the "Swedish" tale except to the lady of a diplomat. But in May, 1913, he informed me that a repeated search among his notes had yielded at least a clue. The diplomat's lady was an American acquaintance, who had married a northern diplomat. But the name had not been noted—if, indeed, Mr. Clemens remembered it at all.

Such a remembrance, however, was unnecessary. There is but one American lady who married a northern diplomat at a time when she could possibly have known Mr. Clemens, or at least could have met him personally. The lady is Anna Lillie Greenough, who, as Mrs. Moulton, married Johan Henrik Hegermann-Lindencrone (1838-1918), Ambassador from Denmark to the United States from 1872 to 1880.

Miss Greenough was born in Cambridge, Mass., in 1844, and spent part of her childhood with her grandfather, Judge Fay, in his home, the historical mansion now the property of Radcliffe College. Already as a child she developed a fine voice. She grew into a sunny and radiant girl. Her natural talents were fostered by such instructors as Agassiz, Longfellow, and Lowell. At the age of fifteen, she accompanied her mother to London, where she became a pupil of Garcia. Two years later she married Charles Moulton, the well-known American banker, who had resided in Paris since the days of Louis Philippe. Mrs. Moulton naturally and easily won the respect and admiration of the circle attracted by the court of Napoleon III. Nine years later, after the War of 1870 and the Commune, Mrs. Moulton and her husband returned to America. Mr. Moulton died soon after, and in 1875 the young widow married Hegermann-Lindencrone. This event carried her back to Europe, and her husband's successive service at the courts of Rome, Paris, and Berlin brought the American lady into close acquaintance with many crowned and other-

wise distinguished persons. She naturally and easily invited the respect of men and women in high places by her inimitable personal grace, her musical accomplishments, and her social talents. Her two books, *The Sunny Side of a Diplomat's Life* and *In the Courts of Memory 1858-1875,* record a career singularly felicitous. In Denmark, as elsewhere, she is fondly remembered, and the mission of American civilization in Europe could have been in no better care than hers.

We do not know when and how Lady Hegermann-Lindencrone and Samuel L. Clemens met, but such a meeting indeed may be considered inevitable, as the same social circles naturally would receive both. But even if it were not inevitable, there is something else to be said.

The drama of the unfortunate Veilby minister was likely to be long remembered in the Hegermann-Lindencrone family. Johan Henrik Hegermann-Lindencrone's grandmother, Louise (1778-1853), Blicher's contemporary, indeed had been attracted by the plot. She published a volume of short novels in 1825 (four years before Blicher's masterpiece), one of these, "The Guest-Room at the Parsonage," being founded upon the ancient, supposed crime. Unlike Blicher, whose novel is terse, sinister, realistic, the lady writer produced a highly romantic tale, the details of which have, however, no place here.

Thus, the Veilby minister's fate survived in memory in the Hegermann-Lindencrone family. No wonder, then, that its triste burden would occupy the mind of the young American lady and that she deemed it interesting enough to claim the attention of her renowned countryman. Their meeting in 1895 cannot be verified, but it is supported by better circumstantial evidence than the ancient events which gave Mark Twain a sleepless night and caused him to transfer them to the banks of the Mississippi and to identify them with Tom Sawyer and Huckleberry Finn.

THE LAW DIVISION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY EDWIN M. BORCHARD

UNTIL the end of the nineteenth century, the United States, as a country with a vast domain and a comparatively small population largely devoted to agricultural pursuits and land speculation, had little need of the experience of foreign countries in dealing with social and economic problems. Our political institutions had come from England and were strongly impressed with the political philosophy of the eighteenth century. With their transplantation to American soil, little further interest in foreign experience was manifest.

But with the growth of population through great tides of immigration, the evolution of an urban life of enormous proportions, the development of manufactures on an unprecedented scale, with the progress of the country from the agricultural to the industrial stage, and thence from the mercantile to the financial stage, from the status of exporters solely of raw materials to exporters of manufactured products—there came a startling change in our economic, social, and political problems. With the change, came a great interest in the methods adopted by foreign countries in the solution of their economic and social problems. This is particularly so with respect to countries more or less on the same cultural stage as the United States, but which, by virtue of a longer history, a denser population, and trained experts, have had opportunity to deal in an intelligent way with problems similar to those facing the United States.

Sooner or later social control is reflected in law. Probably the first important public interest in foreign legal institu-

tions lay in the regulation of unfair competition, in the integration of government and industry, in the organization of trusts and the regulation of corporations, in the public control and insurance of the health and safety of workmen, including all branches of employers' liability and workmen's compensation, and in the regulation of the relations between capital and labor and employers and employees. Questions of this type engaged the interests of governmental and private investigators during the industrial intensification through corporate organization in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Again, the migration of vast bodies of foreigners to this country and the travel of American citizens to foreign countries, with the rapid expansion of American investments and business interests abroad, have brought an interest in the civil and commercial law of foreign countries which was entirely wanting a century ago. We wish to know, not only the law governing tariffs, corporations, taxation, concessions, mortgages, and other forms of security for loans and investments, but the laws governing all aspects of commercial, family, and personal relations. We are interested in the law of property, contracts, torts, marriage, and testamentary disposition, not necessarily because the United States wishes to follow other nations in legislation, but because American citizens must live and do business under those laws and they must have accurate information as to what to expect. This need for information excludes no country from its orbit, either on this continent or on other continents.

Finally, Europe, in spite of its unfortunate political arrangements and divisions, which it seems unable materially to modify, is still the center of world culture and, to a considerable extent, of scientific thought. In the field of law, it is the cradle of modern achievement. Philosophers and jurists from the time of the Romans have helped to shape the

growth of law and of social control through law. Political and legal theories in all ages find their major exponents in Europe. Sometimes they are the historians, sometimes the creators of thought; and much of it has exerted, and continues to exert, a most practical influence on human affairs. Continental jurists in all ages have expounded legal theory and aided the development of law in legislatures and courts to an extent far greater than has been possible in England and the United States.

Unhappily, the English and American legal systems have until lately rejected the influence of scientific thought on legal problems and have relied upon the skill of judges, well or ill trained, to decide cases and write opinions, thus building judicial law empirically as they went along. Wisdom and unwisdom, strength and weakness have received equal space in the records of the law, and not uncommonly courts are quite as likely to perpetuate error as soundness. While the system of *stare decisis* undoubtedly served at one time a useful purpose to assure a measure of certainty in the law, and perhaps still does in a single country like England, where some attempt is made to distinguish *dictum* from *ratio decidendi,* the system is breaking down in the United States of its own weight, for in the myriad of decisions, the threads are becoming lost; and in the fact that precedents on many sides of most questions can be found, litigation is invited, rather than discouraged, and uncertainty, rather than certainty, promoted. The effort of the American Law Institute to restate the law and clear away some of the judicial detritus is an evidence of the appreciation by the lawyer of the need for reform.

The continent of Europe has for centuries worked with a legal system which is, it is believed, more certain than the American system and far more scientific. Apart from codification, the reason is that, in spite of the fact that judges in

Europe are, generally speaking, better trained than in this country, the legal system gives less weight, in case of doubt, to judicial precedents, than it does to the scientific opinions of scholars devoting their lives to the elucidation of particular problems. Thus, in Europe, the scholar is an integral part of the process of legal development in life and in education, whereas in the United States and England, with the exception of a few courts, he is not a serious influence in the development of the law. The reverence for the decided case and an analytical philosophy of dissecting court decisions and finding in them what seems convenient, is responsible for a development which has placed legal scholarship at a discount in the judicial process in America. But for the fact that, in spite of the haphazard system of recruiting judges, some of them combine in their own persons the elements of statesmanship, legal skill, and scholarship, the growth of American law through the courts would be discouraging.

During the last decade or two, a change for the better may be noted. The wilderness of decisions and the contrariety of opinion to be found in them, has induced some resort to the opinions of specialists. The publication of critical law journals, which has reached a high stage of development, has induced judges more frequently to cite scholarly opinions; and thus the influence of the scientific world is growing. Perhaps, in the course of decades, we may begin to approximate the European system of regarding previous decisions as persuasive, but by no means binding, and to seek support for legal doctrine in the opinions of scholars and experts, who, in many cases, would doubtless be judges recording their views in judicial opinions. The doctrinal views of such men as Holmes, Cardozo, Stone, Brandeis, Cuthbert Pound, Wheeler, Burch, and many other living American judges, are themselves examples of the finest scholarship, for they constitute the result of independent investigation and involve the

use of all available materials, subjecting them to searching analysis in the light of principle, expediency, policy, and statesmanship. But such judges, while rare in any country, are more common in Europe than in the United States. The reason for this, it is believed, is that scholarship in Europe is an indispensable requirement and the daily diet of the lawyer from his earliest days in law school to his last days in practice or on the bench. Such names as Gierke, Savigny, Jhering, Pothier, Girard, Geny, Duguit, among hundreds that could be named, have not merely influenced legal thinking in the academic world, but have exerted a powerful impression on legislatures and courts. Their names are as immortal in the development of legal doctrines as are the names of particular judges in this country and in England.

This threefold interest of the American people in the legal experience of foreign countries persuaded Dr. Herbert Putnam, at the beginning of the present century, to develop in the Library of Congress, apart from a magnificent collection of American law, a collection of foreign legal literature, which was to include, not only statutes and session laws, but decisions of the courts, legal periodicals, of which some three hundred are entitled to rank in the first class, and treatises of major importance in all countries and all languages. Concurrently, there was developed a collection of official documents of foreign countries, a collection which constitutes an indispensable mine of information, not only for governmental departments in Washington, but for all investigators of the experience of foreign nations.

At all times the Law Library or the Law Division of the Library of Congress, equally with other divisions of the library, has been far more than a repository of books. That function has required constant attention, trips abroad by the law librarian and others, and a close contact with the world of practice and of scholarship in all countries. A major func-

tion of the Library of Congress, however, is the interpretative function, to make available to members of Congress and all investigators, the information contained in the resources of the library—a function which finally grew to such proportions in the Law Division and related divisions that a separate Division of Legislative Reference was created, drawing for its investigations and reports upon all divisions of the library.

The function of writing opinions for members of Congress and others made it essential that the Law Division be staffed with a certain number of lawyers of an investigating turn of mind who combined the instincts of a librarian with those of a productive scholar. Dr. Putnam at all times encouraged the engagement of men of that type, so that the morale and mutual stimulation of work in the Law Library was quite exceptional in its advantages. Such enterprises as the scientific indexing of the federal statutes were undertaken in the Law Library and brought together a group of highly trained lawyers. Out of that enterprise, in part at least, grew that important aid to legislation now known as the Legislative Drafting Service of the House and Senate, which has become an independent organization. Indexing and reference work for Congress and the country, including indexing of state documents and state legislation, is still a major function of the legal activities of the Library of Congress.

The desirability of interpreting to the world the resources of the Library of Congress, as well as of affording aid to investigators and further building up the library, led Dr. Putnam in 1911 to undertake a new enterprise, which, it is believed, has performed a somewhat unique service. Reference is made to the "Guides" to the law and legal literature of foreign countries, which have intermittently been published since 1912. These critical and selected bibliographies of the principal legal material published in foreign countries serve, not merely to point out for the inquirer the important mate-

rial, but at the same time give some indication of the value of the material, its place in the literature of the subject, and of the legal institutions it purports to describe. As a piece of critical apparatus, it appears to have met with favor from the scientific and practical world. Emphasis has been laid, in the volumes in question, upon those institutions of foreign countries which are most strikingly different from those prevailing in the United States, as well as upon the history of scientific thought in those countries. The effort has thus been to combine a certain amount of general information on substantive law and procedure and on special institutions abroad with a critical appraisal of the literature in which the law and the institutions in question are described. In the preparation of the work, the advice of foreign specialists was enlisted; and none of the "Guides" was completed without a visit to the country under discussion and some study of the foreign law and institutions in their native habitat. The "Guides" thus far published are the *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Germany* (1912), a *Bibliography of International Law and Continental Law* (1913), a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Spain* (1915), of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (1917), and of France (1929).

For the *Guide* to the law of Spain and of France, fellowship aid was obtained from the Harvard and Yale Law Schools, respectively. University coöperation has been enlisted in the enterprise, whenever possible.

The selection and assembling of literature, the organization of its acquisition and service, together with the development of apparatus to stimulate its utilization in any field of learning, art, or enterprise reflect, not merely the inquiring mind, but the executive and organizing ability of the productive scholar. In addition, the conduct of so vast an institution as the Library of Congress requires effective contacts with all branches of learning and research in the United

States and foreign countries. Herbert Putnam combines in a high degree those qualities which have made the Library of Congress what it is today in the life of the United States. This brief essay has mentioned but a single phase of the important service which the Library of Congress has rendered to the world of practical affairs and of scholarship. The recital could, no doubt, be duplicated by the experience of every other division of the Library of Congress. The daily and unobtrusive service of that institution in the cultural progress of the United States is a monument to the character of Herbert Putnam.

NOMADS

BY ARTHUR E. BOSTWICK

THE Human Family has never "stayed put." Restless and roaming, it is always changing its habitat. Nowhere on earth is there a race whose ancestors have always lived on the same soil. Even in China, where existing families occupy the identical houses where their forebears were living when Marathon was still unfought, the Chinese came over the northwestern mountain ranges millenniums ago.

We are still moving today, though we go now usually as individuals, not as tribes or families. We Americans are the greatest movers of all; and no wonder, for we are the descendants of movers. The nomadic impulse peopled the Atlantic coast and sent us, in waves of migration, over mountain and plain to the Pacific.

It is strange that this propensity for changing our habitat has been reflected so little in corresponding changes of law and custom. To be rooted in one place like a plant is still considered normal; to roam about like the animals we are, is abnormal. A man may spend his time in steamer, train, and motor car; yet somewhere he is supposed to have a "legal residence." Our "frame of reference" is topographical, not personal. When one moves even so short a distance as from one city ward to another, he must have remained in his new quarters for a specified period before he is allowed to cast a vote. One would think that the privilege of the franchise was purely personal, and that a voter would be a voter wherever he might chance to be on election day.

We librarians have also failed to adjust ourselves to the fact of universal nomadism. *Coelum, non animam mutant,*

says the poet, of those who in his day *trans mare currebant,* but a much briefer run suffices in the library world to transmute a reader in good standing into a suspected vagrant who must establish his status before he is allowed to resume reading. In St. Louis we are honoring readers' cards from other libraries as if they were our own, so that a trip from Kansas City or Cleveland need not expunge one's library personality from the state; yet a timid series of inquiries some years ago revealed the fact that many of our profession would regard such a concession to nomadic habits as unjustified.

We librarians are ourselves as nomadic as the public we serve. This has been deprecated; and none of us like to have on our staffs bright young assistants who are with us only until the next opportunity offers to move on. Yet there is another side. The old tramp printer, I venture to say, was a better compositor than the man who had handled the same font of type for twenty years. A librarian is a better librarian, if he has had half a dozen charges, than if he had settled down for life in his first—richer in experience, more tolerant, better prepared to meet and deal with the unexpected. The Methodists have long used and approved the itinerancy in their own ministry. A "shake-up" in the police department, where Bill goes up-town and Jim comes down, is often salutary. A little change hurts none of us.

We have, however, in the library, another unit besides the reader or the assistant; our oldest unit is the book. Firmly rooted to its shelves as it once was—even bound there by chains like a serf, it began a limited career of nomadism when the plan of home use was adopted. Now it travels about by millions, but only for short distances—usually not beyond the city limits. Longer flights it takes occasionally, and it goes about in groups as traveling libraries and in book-wagons. Its longest journeys as an individual are as "inter-library loans."

There should be a committee on the revision of library terminology. When it gets to work, I hope that it will eliminate that word "loan." It connotes jealous ownership and condescension. We are not "lending" when one of those who helps pay our salaries comes for his share of our service. And this should be true of nation-wide as well as of local service.

Some day or other, when we are not so prosperous as a nation, we shall turn our minds to the practice of economies—we shall try to do more with what we have, instead of endeavoring to increase our incomes, which just at present is the easiest thing to do.

We Americans are justly accused of being the most wasteful people in the world, and one phase of our wastefulness is our proneness to duplication. Not content with making two grass blades grow where one grew before (which, on the whole, is unobjectionable) we are fond of accumulating a host of things of some one kind where a little management would enable us to get along with one or two. And side by side with this sin of duplication goes the twin fault of omission. They naturally hunt in pairs. The cost of the useless makes it necessary to economize in the useful. Hence the man who owns three automobiles and lives in two uncomfortable rooms; also he who has a hundred neckties and only one pair of shoes. It is no exaggeration to say that if we could sell all our unnecessary duplicates at cost price, we should have enough money to supply our hampering omissions.

We are getting over our idea that every branch library in a city should be stocked exactly as if it were the sole library building in a small town. The result of that was that libraries found themselves with twenty copies of certain works where two would have been sufficient, and with two copies of others where twenty were needed. Judicious purchasing and flexibility of exchange among branches is remedying this state of

affairs. Pity it is that we cannot apply nationally what we are learning locally.

Probably the idea that the entire book resources of the country should be considered and administered as a unit is better adapted to the year A.D. 2029 than to the present. But may it not be regarded as the distant limit of our slowly summing series? Can we not unhook some of the chains that still keep our books from traveling to the spot where someone really wants them?

The annual sum of interlibrary loans is of course far from negligible, even now. What the total is, we know not. Our committee on the subject, still *in esse,* provides no statistics. But at any rate it is a mere drop in the bucket.

One of the greatest public services of the man whom we honor with this assemblage of essays has been performed in unlocking the stores of books in the Library of Congress and sending many of them on their nomadic way. Yet here and elsewhere there must be volumes that cannot and should not be spared for journeying—books whose local use is so important that to release them from it is impossible. The trouble is that the line between the fixed and the nomadic is drawn by no two libraries in the same place and that in most cases it is impossible to tell where it is drawn. It is embarrassing to assure your readers that you are willing to send for any book that you do not possess, when the chances are ten to one that you will have to confess failure in the end.

The way out, as I see it, is to raise Dr. Eliot's badly neglected storehouse idea to the *n*th power—to create somewhere a stock of books for which local demand is nonexistent, including all those that it is now difficult to get by interlibrary loan. If this could be maintained as an adjunct of the national library its use could be free to all; but if not, it could be established and kept up by the larger libraries of the country in combination, costing each far less than the saving in

book purchase that it would effect. To this storehouse should go as a deposit all books in the coöperating libraries that are called for only once in two or three years and that probably will not be needed on short notice. The total stock, however, should be kept as small as possible and not encumbered with useless material. Printed cards for it should be filed in every coöperating library and books would go to applicants in the order of their requests.

There would then be just one place to send for interlibrary service, instead of a hundred; at least in a very large number of cases, including those where such service is not now generally obtainable. Moreover, every applicant would be certain of ultimately getting his book.

Are we to expect the consummation of any such plan as this in any reasonable period of time? Probably not: yet most of us can remember when nobody expected the telephone, or the automobile, or the moving-pictures, or radio. Ours is an age of evolutionary leaps, more so, perhaps, in mechanical devices like those cited than in administrative improvements. There is no pressing demand for it; but there was no antecedent demand at all for the telephone or the movies. They won their own way.

I believe that nomadism is a symptom of vitality, in man or in book. The most vital cells in our own organisms are those that are forever rushing around in the blood stream; and even those that are relatively at rest change from year to year. The cells that make up our brains—or our noses—are not the same today as they were seven years ago; they are periodically replaced, like the dwellers in a New York suburb. And yet the suburbans are personally proud of something or other that those entirely different suburbans did years ago. An intangible entity has persisted through all the change. You have the same brain, and your nose retains its shape, though every component cell is new.

The moral may be that there is no danger, but rather life more abundant, in the nomadism of persons and things. We librarians are nomads ourselves. We serve nomads and we are the custodians of the nomadic. Let us look to it.

SOME LIBRARY PERSONNEL PROBLEMS

BY GEORGE F. BOWERMAN

IN the arrangements for participation in this tribute to the dean of our profession the pleasant duty has been assigned to me of writing on the administrative aspects of library personnel, including training and salaries. The man we honor has exemplified throughout his long and distinguished career, including the part before the Library of Congress period, by individual achievements and officially through his appointments, the highest attainable standards in personnel administration. It is therefore fitting to include comment, retrospective and prospective, on some aspects of this phase of library administration.

This paper is based on the experience of one who, in the earlier part of the thirty-year period under consideration, administered a medium-sized library in which exceedingly small salaries then prevailed and who soon became librarian of a library whose salaries during much of this period have been nearly the lowest among those of the larger municipal libraries of the country. Within recent years the salaries of that library have, through the operation of the Federal Classification Act, been pulled up so that they compare very favorably with others throughout the country. This paper is likewise based on a short-range observation of corresponding improvements during the same period, as a result of much the same causes, in the salary situation in the Library of Congress and the other governmental libraries in Washington. Somewhat similar changes have been observed at longer range elsewhere, no doubt for reasons such as underlie the classification legislation and its effect on library salaries in Washington.

This matter of salaries is placed first in this discussion because it is believed to be fundamental in the entire problem of personnel administration. There was a time when it was regarded as almost indecent for a librarian to mention library salaries. In fact in that earlier time salaries, generally speaking, were too small to be worth mentioning. Later, in the campaign for better library salaries, it has come to be considered that one of the best ways to secure improvement is to bring salary figures out into the open, with the idea that good salary figures will, as examples, help to raise poorer ones and that poor salary figures will by their publication likewise tend to improvement by attracting unfavorable attention to their inadequacy. Those who believe in the effectiveness of the publication of such comparative figures sometimes find themselves hampered by the refusal of some libraries to permit the publication of figures presumed to be helpful, by the fact that occasionally when salary figures are advanced to telling proportions they are withheld from publication and likewise by the oversensitiveness of some librarians to the publication of their unsatisfactory figures. Possibly the withholding of such salary figures, both the good and the poor, is dictated by library trustees rather than by librarians, perhaps to ward off glances either envious or scornful. It is to be hoped that librarians will induce their boards to join in this coöperative movement by giving full publicity to library salaries, whether good or bad.

Although there has been marked improvement within the last few years in library salaries, both in government and other libraries, the recent nation-wide study made by the Bureau of Public Personnel Administration for the American Library Association disclosed the fact that library salaries in practically all grades are low, whether based on the education, training, experience, and personality possessed by librarians, on a comparison between librarians and those in

other professions or businesses having equal or lesser equipment, or on the standard of living which society expects and librarians as self-respecting members of society desire to maintain.

That the library salary problem has not yet been solved is shown by the fact that it is possible for a library to publish in a recent number of a professional journal an advertisement reading as follows:

> Research assistant (man) desired in large reference library. Must be a graduate of a well-known university (one having done considerable post-graduate work preferred) with good working knowledge of foreign languages and previous library experience in advanced reference work. Salary $2,000.

It may safely be claimed that during the thirty-year period there has been a wider recognition of librarianship as a profession and that this recognition extends down farther and farther into the rank and file of those engaged in library work. There was a time when such recognition, if granted at all, was extended solely or principally to chief librarians of the larger libraries; the members of their staffs were "clerks" in public estimation, sometimes in thought and in designation of their chiefs, and too often many of them deserved such a classification. Now in the larger libraries, not only department heads, but many others are esteemed as the professional colleagues of their chiefs. A not unimportant factor in the more general recognition of the professional character of librarianship is the allocation of librarians in government libraries to the professional and sub-professional grades under the classification act, along with biologists, chemists, economists, physicians, attorneys, engineers, and other specialists in the government service.

Without attempting to set forth all the factors which have helped to bring about this change in the professional recognition of librarianship, mention may be made that in thirty

years the individual memberships in the American Library Association have increased from 474 to 9,277 and that the number of library schools has grown from four to seventeen. The latter figure includes only those accredited by the American Library Association; of these eight are graduate library schools and one is an advanced graduate library school. Formerly, the profession was largely recruited in its higher ranks from strong men and women from other professions, and in its intermediate and lower ranks from those without previous training and often with little more than a high-school education. In recent years the professional and sub-professional posts in the large, medium, and even in many small libraries have been generally filled by those bringing full college education and library-school graduation.

What are some of the features in the personnel situation of our libraries that call for improvement?

The most marked characteristic of the standard library staff is its extreme feminization. An estimate based on an analysis of a portion of the membership cards at American Library Association headquarters shows that 85 per cent or more represent women and 15 per cent or less, men. This membership includes the cream of library workers, those most professionally-minded and also best paid. If a census of the sex of all persons engaged in library work were to be taken, it might show that even a larger percentage are women. It will perhaps be recognized that the writer has long been numbered among those men librarians who have insisted on equal pay for women and men doing the same grade and quality of work and an equal opportunity for their advancement to the higher posts, including chief librarianships. None the less I believe that the disproportion is too great and that the women in the profession as well as the men, and so the whole cause of librarianship, suffer from this unbalanced and therefore unhealthy condition. This situa-

tion has long been a vicious circle. Historically, people generally have had the idea that library work is nice, light, clean, and easy—just suited to women; also that not much pay was required. So libraries have been filled with women, many of whom lived at home and so would accept the small salaries offered—less than a full return for the service rendered. Librarianship thus became a sweated occupation. Students going into college and public libraries have rarely seen anyone but women, all of whom on inquiry were found to be paid very little. Moreover, nearly all of those in sight were engaged in stamping and filing cards or in other predominantly mechanical tasks. As a result male college students have almost unanimously ruled library work out of the question, classing it as a low-paid clerical job, furnishing neither a worthy career nor a livelihood.

The disproportionately large amount of time spent on semi-mechanical tasks is another serious handicap to enlisting, holding, and developing an enlightened and progressive library personnel. Every profession has its mechanical processes, but ours seem so overpowering as almost to engulf us and the waters rise so far that too few emerge from the mechano-technical details. The general use of the Library of Congress printed cards and the invention of a book-charging machine are steps in the direction of mitigating this situation, but much more needs to be done to simplify routine and even more to put it into the background where it will not be so oppressively in evidence. Perhaps the way out lies in the direction of placing larger emphasis on the advisory service to the individual reader. If that could be developed to many times its present small beginnings and could occupy the center of every library picture, the library would appear far more inviting to the public and to possible recruits to librarianship.

Has there yet been an adequate facing of the question that

there are in every library purely clerical and almost completely mechanical tasks, that these are necessary for smooth operation, but that they can be performed by clerical and mechanical assistants, who are not and do not need to be librarians and in most cases will never become such? Many of our present difficulties have arisen from the fact that, partly because we have been prevented through lack of funds from doing better, we have taken into our libraries those who have been good enough to perform these routine tasks, and then have gradually promoted them to the more advanced and responsible posts, for which not simply more experience, but a different type of mind, is required, in combination with more advanced education and training. The remedy seems to be that we must in our thinking and in our practice make a sharper discrimination between the clerical-mechanical service and the professional and sub-professional service involving book knowledge and book interpretation. Either that or we must employ in our clerical-mechanical service people who are so equipped as to be promotable to become librarians, and then promote them quickly before they become discouraged or routinized.

Another great need is that our professional staffs, particularly those that serve the public, shall be enlarged and strengthened and made to include those having diverse equipment in book knowledge. This is needed, not primarily to relieve overburdened workers, but to meet the vastly greater demands which are sure to come to us as soon as it is generally known that we are equipped to give an authoritative advisory book service. At present in most libraries staffs are sufficient only to meet somewhat inadequately the growing requirements of persistent readers. Scarcely anywhere is there that leisurely atmosphere which invites the timid reader needing help and betokens competent and well-considered advice. Too often one or two persons are required

to give advice on the literature of such widely diverse subjects that it is impossible for them to have the first-hand knowledge requisite to speak with authority and to carry conviction. With this diversity of book knowledge in the enlarged staffs must be combined more of humanity, more of interest in people and in their individual reading problems, together with ability to diagnose the intellectual equipment of readers and skill to prescribe the books needed for mental sanitation and development.

Another handicap has arisen from the fact that too often people have gone into library work for negative reasons; because they had no liking or aptitude for teaching, law, medicine, scientific or engineering work, or business. They liked books in a mild sort of way and saw library work as a permanent if low-paid occupation. To them library work was little if any more than a routine job. Without particular aptitude for the work, suitable personality, or marked love of people they were not likely ever to contribute a new thought to the advancement of the profession or to rise above standardized routine ideas and practice. Such librarians seem to gloat over intricate technical details, tend to hang on to them to the last ditch, and resist efforts at simplification and elimination.

Librarianship should be able to attract the strong, well-qualified people, both men and women, who naturally belong in our profession. These should include people with vision, who are capable of contributing constructive ideas. As we librarians think of the library as a slice of the best of life, so a library staff should be a slice from the upper crust of life, in which women only slightly exceed men in numbers. With an improving salary situation, a better understanding that library work involves far more important factors than the merely technical, and a growing sex equality, in which men are getting over their sex superiority complex,

the overfeminization of the library will, it is expected, tend to correct itself.

The development of the library as a great agency for adult education opens the road for the improvement of library personnel. The present emphasis on the library's part in the movement is sometimes criticized both by those who claim that the library has always been engaged in adult education and by those who say that the library cannot expect to cut much of a figure in it. The big gain to us is that the general movement has now become a self-conscious one, with a philosophical background, that it is assuming large proportions, and that the library is recognized as having a prominent part in it. In order that the library may measure up to this opportunity, it must and will command vastly greater support. This will provide larger and better-paid staffs who will in turn render, not only a larger service, but a different type of service. This in turn involves improvement in the recruits for librarianship, changes in preliminary education and training for librarianship, and more and better training of librarians in service.

Adult education means for the library a life-long continuance of the education of the public or of such of the public as become the library's clients. This inevitably means a life-long continuance of the education and training of librarians to enable them to minister to our public. Such continuing education and training are just as necessary for staff members with advanced degrees and professional training as for those who have come up from the ranks largely by means of self-education.

Among the factors requisite in the personnel and training of a staff suited to bear its full part in this newly self-conscious adult education movement are the following.

The greatest possible care should be exercised by library-school directors and librarians in the selection of personnel

for training or appointment. Not only is it necessary to enforce the highest attainable standards of formal education and technical training, but use should be made of intelligence tests, and acceptable personality standards and good health should be insisted upon. Probationary appointments are desirable, to test out adaptability and so far as possible character and social intelligence. It is vitally important to library schools and libraries to admit to training or appointment only those who have the capacity, recognize the need, and have the ambition always to keep improving in education and training.

Then there is the large field of training in service, beginning with the chief librarian and extending down through department heads, understudies, intermediate assistants, branch librarians, and the rank and file. Such training involves securing good *esprit de corps,* impressing high standards of service, and incitement to individual improvement.

Such staff training may be secured by a combination of several methods. In small libraries there may be frequent meetings of the staff as a whole. In larger libraries to reach the entire staff there must be divisional meetings. Often there may be stated meetings of the chief librarian with department heads, alternating perhaps with larger groups which will include senior assistants. Even when these meetings are predominantly administrative, the resulting discussions are valuable as training. In the writer's library during the current year a group of about forty is basing its season's program on discussions of the various American Library Association textbooks, comparing the library's own procedures with those set forth in these texts. In addition there are other stated group meetings of branch librarians, of children's librarians, and of intermediate and junior assistants, in all of which are discussed, not simply administrative matters, but other advanced problems, with resultant valuable staff instruction.

The public advisory group has also conducted a series of courses in book discussion, with a different field covered in each course.

Staff training includes three principal types. The first type, designed especially for juniors, is chiefly technical and includes the inculcation of good methods of work; the second, for intermediate and senior members, includes instruction designed to promote *esprit de corps* and a knowledge of the objectives and services of the whole library; and the third, for the administrative staff, is designed to increase the effectiveness of the staff as a whole by stressing the opportunities for original and creative work in order that the library may progressively measure up to its full opportunities for usefulness.

The problems of library personnel are so numerous and diverse that the space limitations of this paper are not adequate for their discussion. For example, there is the need for more general training of librarians in public speaking, including the preparation and delivery of radio addresses. Is there an overemphasis on a knowledge of foreign languages, at the expense of economics, sociology, and science? There is the matter of stressing the more systematic reading of current professional literature by the library staff as a whole. There is the question of sabbatical years for other than college librarians, for purposes of travel and study. What help may a librarian gone stale on his job expect to get by resorting to an advanced graduate library school? What of the need of further education of advisory assistants in subject matter and literature in relation to the available facilities in graduate institutions? Our needs are many. If we make our demands known, ways of meeting them will be found.

THE IDEALLY PERFECT LIBRARY

BY GEORGE WATSON COLE

I. THE IDEALLY PERFECT LIBRARY

HOW *Formed*. If, when the art of printing was invented, some person of vision had realized that it was to be the greatest contribution to the advancement of civilization ever discovered, and if he had had the foresight, as had Thomason, in England, during its Civil War, to collect copies of everything as it issued from the press, to date it, and lay it aside as the nucleus of a great collection, ultimately to embrace all the products of the printing-press from that early time down to and including the present day, we should now have the greatest and most ideally perfect library ever formed.

If, in addition to his own work, the originator of this plan had convinced others of its superlative importance and had persuaded them, and they, in their turn, a line of successors conscientiously to follow his example down to our day, there would now be somewhere in Europe (or perhaps in America) a library that would include the entire production of the printing-presses of all nations from about 1450 to, and including, the present day.

Had such a collection been undertaken and carried out on the lines here suggested, properly and commodiously housed, systematically arranged and classified, and thoroughly indexed and catalogued by both authors and subjects (care being taken to analyze all periodicals and works of a composite character), it would contain and make available to scholars, everything that could possibly be needed to pursue the investigation of any subject that has ever appeared in print. Such a collection would form an Ideally Perfect Li-

brary—a complete reservoir of knowledge so far as it has ever been embodied in print. Needless to say, the formation of such a library would have required the persistence of a Watt, or of a Thomason, and the wealth of a Croesus.

Its Size. Had such well-nigh omnipotent hands reached out and gathered together all the products of the printing-press from its very infancy to the present time, from the earliest tentative efforts of Coster and Gutenberg (or whoever he may have been that first discovered the art of printing), and continued so to do to the present hour, what a stupendous and magnificent, not to say awe-inspiring, collection would have been formed.

Some idea of its size is given by Iwinski who, in 1911, published the results of an elaborate statistical study of book-production. He estimated that there were then in the world twenty-five million "different books." This would give an average annual production of about 54,230. But we must recollect, that while the spread of printing was phenomenally rapid in its early days (there were some 250 printers who issued books before 1501), the average production of that period never assumed anything like the above figures. Such an average can only be warranted by taking into consideration the enormous extent to which printing has spread during the past hundred years.

Neither should we fail to bear in mind that Iwinski limited his estimate to "different books," and did not take into account different editions, reprints, issues, variant copies, etc., of the same book, neither did he include such occasional, fugitive, and ephemeral items as maps, charts, prints, proclamations, music, engravings, broadsides, news sheets, newspapers, sermons, almanacs, etc., which would swell his estimate to an enormous extent. Then, too, we must remember that it is now seventeen years since his estimate was made. Without entering too minutely into the matter we are per-

haps justified in saying that at present somewhere from thirty-five to fifty million, if not more, different pieces of printed matter would be nearer a correct estimate of the world's total output than Iwinski's restricted estimate of twenty-five million made in 1911. All things considered, these figures, astounding as they seem, may really fall far short of the actual total.

Besides, no account is taken of the great number of non-existent books, such as are certainly known to have been printed but of which no copies can now be traced. These, except for their having been recorded, or alluded to in the writings of their contemporaries or others, have as completely disappeared as if they had never existed. Blades, in his *Enemies of Books,* has entertainingly enumerated the factors that have been instrumental in this wholesale destruction. He neglected, however, to name an important one. The paper mills, that produced the paper upon which the world of books has been printed, have also been great enemies of books. They have ravenously received and consumed, as paper stock, the last remaining copy of many a book and pamphlet, to the great loss of literature and literary history. Authors of American history and literature owe an incalculable debt to George Brinley, who, during our Civil War, rescued many a precious book and pamphlet from being reduced to pulp in the paper mills around Hartford, Connecticut. But for his discretion and foresight many a unique copy, now prized by its possessor, would otherwise have certainly perished.

Such is at present the ubiquity of the printing-press that if our fancied library really existed and were faithfully maintained and administered, as suggested, it would be literally added to daily by the carload.

Its Advantages. Assuming our Ideally Perfect Library to have been collected, commodiously housed in a single place,

systematically arranged and classified on the shelves, exhaustively catalogued, and all composite volumes analyzed so as to make them most serviceable, what would it contain and of what benefit would such a library be to scholars of the present day and those who are to come after them?

It is evident that all searchers for information, savants, students, bibliographers, bibliophiles, and the great body of literary workers, would here easily find anything and everything desired for the solution of the innumerable problems that can possibly vex such minds.

Let us mention a few of these. Here, for example, would be found the correct solution to what constitutes a perfect copy of Dickens' *Pickwick Papers,* as originally issued in parts. Few are now agreed on all the "points" necessary to constitute a perfect copy; yet the fastidious collector demands a perfect copy, and no other will fully satisfy him.

If the fancied collector of our Ideally Perfect Library had procured each part as it appeared, together with all the reissues, and had endorsed upon each the date of its reception (as did Thomason with his Civil War pamphlets), all questions concerning priority and completeness could be answered instantly. As it is the perplexity of determining their succession arises from the fact that, when the success of this experiment to revive and popularize a work analogous in character to the previous coöperative efforts of Combe and Rowlandson was hanging in the balance, only enough copies of the first few numbers were printed to meet an uncertain demand.

"No great hopes," says Thomson in his *Bibliography of the Writings of Charles Dickens,*[1] "seem to have been entertained. Of the first four numbers only 1500 were printed and sent to the trade 'on sale or return'—and sold 50! Serious debate was held as to whether the enterprise should be persisted

1. P. 24.

with when with the introduction of Jingle and Sam Weller the tide turned and the parts rapidly attained a sale of forty thousand." It then became necessary to reprint the earlier parts so that those desiring to complete their sets could do so. This involved the resetting of type, the retouching of the original plates as they became worn or the preparation of new ones, the insertion of new or additional sheets or slips of advertising matter, *et cetera*. Nothing was done to indicate that these reissues differed from the original ones. The publishers may have intentionally designed to make them as near like the first issues as possible. Thomson[2] is of the opinion that "There are probably not twenty complete sets of the genuine first issue *in parts* in existence."

These circumstances raise a problem well-nigh impossible to solve. But this might easily have been done had our fancied collector promptly procured all the original parts and reissues as they appeared, and have written on each the date of its reception and added other pertinent information. This would have permitted the copies of each part to be arranged in strict chronological order, and so have settled once and for all time the sequence of their appearance, together with typographical differences, the correct number of advertising sheets, etc., necessary to make up a complete part.

There is another benefit which would aid a scholar permitted to pursue his studies in such a library. He would find in it all the various editions (revised, corrected, or amended) of every author published during that author's lifetime, and so be enabled to note the various changes made by him, and ascertain the text which he finally decided to leave to posterity.

No one has ever been able to bring together a complete set of the *De Bry Voyages*. By a complete set we mean one containing all the various parts, editions, issues, and variant

2. P. 26.

leaves of the *Great* and *Small Voyages,* in both the Latin and German languages, together with the English and French versions of Part I of the *Great Voyages,* of which but a single edition of each was published. The difficulty of completing a set of De Bry arises primarily from the fact that its publication extended over more than half a century.[3]

"During the long interval between the publication of the first and last parts, it was found necessary at times to reprint portions of different parts of the work, in order to complete fragmentary sheets on hand. These reprints, differing as they do from the original issues, have caused the greatest confusion among bibliographers; and the formation of complete sets of the different parts in Latin and German of the *Great* and *Small Voyages,* including their later editions and issues, has been the despair of collectors."[4]

Henry Stevens, of London, and his successors (Henry Stevens, Son and Stiles) have spent many years in trying to straighten out and complete the bibliography of the *De Bry Voyages,* but have never succeeded in doing so. "No man," said Henry Stevens in 1881, five years before his death, "ever yet made up his De Bry perfect, if one may count on the three great De Bry witnesses, the Rt. Hon. Thomas Grenville, the Russian Prince Sobolewski, and the American Mr. Lenox, who all went far beyond DeBure, yet fell far short of attaining all the variations they had heard of." Our fancied library would certainly have had a complete set, and one by which the completeness, or lack of it in others, could be accurately gauged.

Around the works, person, and character of every creative genius, especially of the writers of the world's masterpieces of literature, and of the ancient classics, has grown up a mass of erudition peculiarly its own. Shakespeare, for example,

3. *Latin America,* Pt. I, 1st ed., 1590; Pt. 4, 3d ed., 1644.
4. *Church Cat., Amer.,* 1: 317.

wrote a number of plays and poems which are often included in a single volume. Yet around him (of whose personality little is really known) and his works has grown up a literature enough to form an extensive library. The collection, formed in this country by Henry C. Folger, limited to the plays and poems of that dramatist and works about him and them, contains some twenty thousand volumes. The literature regarding other prominent authors, while naturally not as extensive, has in many cases reached considerable proportions.

The correct sequence and number of the different title-pages of Milton's *Paradise Lost* is still in doubt because they were not all collected and dated as they appeared. But why continue to enumerate examples! Thousands upon thousands of other literary and typographical problems have arisen and will ever continue to rise. Many of them will never be satisfactorily solved; but *all* might have been capable of solution had we the Ideally Perfect Library we have pictured.

Such a library never has existed and never can exist; *unless,* all the libraries in the world will contribute (which they will not) toward such a desideratum, by putting themselves in the position in which the French *émigrés,* the monasteries, and other suppressed institutions found themselves during the French Revolution, when the Government stepped in, took possession of all the libraries, catalogued them, and appropriated from them copies of all such books and other rare material, as were not already in the national library. From that source alone, according to an estimate made by M. de Salvandy in his report made in 1848, the Bibliothèque Nationale received 240,000 volumes of the rarest and most precious character.

If the British Museum, the Bodleian, or the Library of Congress, or any other great library even, could, by some such means, increase the number of its books, we should have, approximately, the library of our dreams.

Manuscripts. In our Ideally Perfect Library no mention has purposely been made of collections of manuscripts. As all works are originally printed from manuscripts it follows that the possession of the manuscript from which any work has been printed is held in greater esteem than its printed counterpart.

A manuscript possesses an intimate connection with its author which is lacking in the printed page, this it is that gives it an irresistible appeal to the bibliophile. It is, so to say, sacrosanct. It has passed under the very hand and eye of the writer. At times he may have rapidly transferred his thoughts to its surface as they came rushing into his mind; or, again, more deliberately, he may have paused and pondered how he might express his thought with greater clarity or in more artistic phraseology.

What would not the modern book collector pay, should opportunity offer, for the manuscripts from which the printers set up the first two editions of *Hamlet,* or in fact, for any authentic manuscript, however slight, in Shakespeare's handwriting? Had we any such, as well as of Bacon's, a comparison of their several handwritings might conclusively demonstrate whether the plays now attributed to Shakespeare were written by him, or by his distinguished contemporary.

The manuscript from which Book I of Milton's *Paradise Lost* was printed, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, is of inestimable value. How much more so would be that of the whole poem. The Ellesmere Manuscript of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is one of the most precious possessions of the Huntington Library.

The disparity between the value of an author's manuscripts, and of the first editions of his works, was never more strikingly shown than in the Quinn Sale at the Anderson Galleries, in 1923-24, when the prices paid for the Conrad

manuscripts far outweighed those paid for the first editions of the same works. Seventeen of his manuscripts sold for more than $2,000 each. The four bringing the highest prices realized $26,300 as against $600 for the volumes which had been first printed from them. We can only surmise what the original manuscripts of the world's great masterpieces would bring if now offered for sale at auction, especially if such a venturesome bidder as Dr. Rosenbach were present.

The recent sale of two fragments of the autograph manuscript of Dickens' *Pickwick Papers* emphasizes most strikingly the force of what has just been said. The first fragment, consisting of one and one-half pages, quarto, signed "Charles Dickens" and "Boz," sold at the George W. Child's sale, in Philadelphia, for $9,000. The second fragment, consisting of five pages, quarto, with 132 lines, was sold at Sotheby's, in London, in the Whiteley sale, for £7,500 (about $37,000). Dr. A. S. W. Rosenbach was the purchaser in both cases. At this rate, what would not Rosy (as his intimate friends call him) pay, if occasion offered, for the Dickens manuscripts in the Forster Collection in the South Kensington Museum?

Library Buildings. The largest library buildings already built, projected, or under construction have capacities for only a mere fraction of such an astounding collection as we have pictured. The new Sterling Library at Yale University is "designed," we are told, "to accommodate approximately 4,000,000 volumes." This is by no means the largest building now contemplated. Mr. Lathrop C. Harper reports that, while in Russia during the past season, he saw the plans of the new Moscow library which will shelve nearly six million volumes.

Incidentally, greatly to the relief of the bibliothecal world, he informs us that he found conditions in the libraries of Leningrad and Moscow excellent—the best of care being taken of everything in them. "The rare things," he says, "are

being better conserved than in some American and English Libraries."

We thus see that no one library, even the largest, can contain more than a small percentage of existing material. As that is the case, by what means can the combined resources of existing libraries be best made available to the learned world?

II. EXISTING LIBRARIES

Their Growth. Inasmuch as our Ideally Perfect Library is a creature of the imagination let us descend to earth and see how nearly the most important libraries of the world measure up to such a standard, or how nearly they may be made to do so.

Libraries may be ranked, according to their size and importance, somewhat as follows:

General Libraries:

1. National Libraries,
2. Public Libraries.

Special Libraries:

1. University Libraries,
2. Professional Libraries,
3. Libraries of Learned Societies,
4. Privately Endowed Libraries,
5. All others.

Special Collections of importance may of course be found in any of those named above.

The history of libraries shows that the older a library is, other things being equal, the more nearly it reaches our ideal. Every live library is a growth, and not merely a formation. Its existence may begin in various ways. Frequently a collection or collections of books are brought together and form its nucleus. To it is naturally added, by purchase or otherwise, such books as fall within its scope. Private collections of an allied nature are often attracted to it, as by a magnet, and are

absorbed by it. The more complete such libraries are, the more satisfying they are found to be by students who have occasion to use them, because of the coördinated material they contain. The value of our largest libraries, and their importance, is largely due to the number of allied collections they may have absorbed. In acquiring them a library gains, not only the collections themselves, but the combined time, thought, means, and study, that was put into their formation by their original collectors.

A library made up of many such collections has an advantage over one consisting almost entirely of rarities, or "nuggets," so called. These, it is true, form a skeleton or the framework of a library; but such a skeleton, in order best to justify its existence, needs to be fleshed with works of literary history and criticism, biographies, bibliographies, and many other works of reference, before it is in a condition to meet best the needs of those who use it for scholarly purposes.

Scholars working in libraries, especially those recently formed, often find them lacking in books they should possess and suggest their purchase. The acquisition year after year of books so suggested cannot fail to add materially to the resources of a library's working outfit. Gaps occur in every library, but they are often so adequately filled by such means that its character becomes widely known to scholars, and they naturally resort to it to carry on their investigations, rather than visit others less adequately provided with critical works.

Experience has thus proved that those libraries are the most useful which are the largest, oldest, and have long been the resort of scholars, and have taken fullest advantage of the advice given by them regarding further accessions.

Such recommendations to purchase, made by a long line of savants extending over a period of many years, have, in many cases, been heeded and carried out. A library so be-

friended is, in a sense, coöperative. No one mind is broad and encyclopedic enough to embrace the entire field of knowledge, and it is only by adopting such suggestions made continuously for many decades, or even centuries, that our most famous libraries have acquired world-wide renown for their extensive resources and have thus been enabled to reach their present preëminence. It is impossible for us to believe that the success of the Library of Congress during its long history has not been, to a considerable extent, due to the recognition of this fact by Mr. Spofford and his distinguished successor, Dr. Putnam.

Existing libraries are pigmies compared with the giant of our dreams. They are large or small, general or special. None are complete, none ideal. Like the stars of the heavens, they are innumerable, widely scattered, and varying in magnitude. Whoever would avail himself of their resources must perforce go from one to another, and even then, for the lack of authoritative guides, may pass unheeded the very one that might best aid him in his studies. Scholars must always, in consequence, be wanderers, like bees searching for honey in ever broadening fields. Our ideal library would have saved them time, travel, and, what is more important, have satisfactorily solved many a problem at present insoluble.

Resources. Availability. Somewhere in the vast reservoir of universal knowledge there is, has been, or will be printed material that can answer nearly every question that may arise among scholars. It is the function of bibliography so to chart this vast, and at present little known field of knowledge that the student, like the mariner, can direct his course to the very point where his studies may be pursued to the best advantage —where among the fifty million different items, more or less, the answer to every query that puzzles him may be found.

Here is a field that demands an exhaustive and successful survey. What work can there be more worthy than this, one

that might be taken up and carried to completion under governmental patronage!

As we have not the Ideally Perfect Library the world needs the means of making more and more available to scholars the great wealth of printed matter that already exists. We need infinitely more and better bibliographical guides like the *Short Title Catalogue of English Books Printed before 1641,* recently published (1926) by the English Bibliographical Society. This Catalogue is the culmination of its work during the thirty-five years of its existence. We need more and more similar bibliographies upon every conceivable subject, bibliographies that will include, not only all the material about which they treat, but which will tell us *where* copies of every important item can be found. The *Short Title Catalogue* is, in this respect, an epoch-making work—an important landmark in the history of bibliography—a shining example which should serve as a model to all future bibliographers.

The printed catalogues of the British Museum and Bibliothèque Nationale are of the utmost importance. Valuable as they are we can never hope to see them equaled, much less surpassed. In the future we shall have to content ourselves more and more with special bibliographies like the *Short Title Catalogue*. Would that we had enough such to cover the entire field of printed knowledge. With such, the printed resources of the world would be made available to scholars as never before.

This is a consummation devoutly to be wished, but until such specific bibliographies can be compiled and published it is extremely important that more and fuller guides, similar to Johnston and Mudge's list of *Special Collections in Libraries,* should be prepared and distributed as widely as possible. While such guides, unlike the *Short Title Catalogue,* fail to locate specific copies of books, the knowledge of what

and where special collections exist must ever be of the greatest aid to scholars. At the present day the specialist, more than ever before, wants to know not only *what* exists, but *where* his material is to be found.

We may be permitted to suggest that the library clubs of our large cities ought to compile lists of the special collections located within their limits—lists similar to that of the "Libraries of Greater New York," to be found in the *Manual* of the New York Library Club, published in 1902. The consolidation of a number of such lists would, we are sure, reveal an abundance of material now little dreamed of. Of course, in order to make such lists of the greatest use, they should be revised from time to time and kept fully up to date.

Special libraries are in many respects superior to general ones; but, as none are complete, the combined resources of general and special libraries can only be successfully taken advantage of by the use of special bibliographies like the *Short Title Catalogue,* Johnston and Mudge's *Special Collections in Libraries of the United States,* and "Libraries of Greater New York."

Libraries, national, copyright, state, local, historical, university or educational, professional, law, medical, theological, art, architectural, scientific, or other strictly special collections may from their character, size, and importance, possess advantages for the research worker not to be found in general libraries.

Works similar to *Special Collections* by Johnston and Mudge should be prepared and greatly amplified. These ought not only to give the location of special collections, but to enumerate the unique and extremely rare works they possess, as well as the authoritative works of their specialties.[5]

5. The above was written before the present writer had learned that the late Dr. William Dawson Johnston had returned to the Library of Congress and was, at the time of his death, busily engaged in securing data for a revised and enlarged edition of his *Special Collections.*

We must therefore conclude that the best all-round library is that in which the scholar is most likely to find the greatest number of answers to such questions as may arise in connection with his work; that such a library must of necessity be old, large, and have long been the resort of specialists, who, by their varied suggestions and advice, have contributed to its growth and completeness. Among English libraries the British Museum and the Bodleian occupy the most prominent positions. The Library of Congress, owing to the efficiency of its present librarian, occupies a corresponding position in this country.

January 10, 1929.

LIBRARY SERVICE TO A CITY

BY LINDA A. EASTMAN

RUMINATIONS on the development of the Cleveland Public Library System, and in particular on its Main Library organization, would probably have been a more accurately descriptive title for the pages here presented.

Library systems are a product of the modern city, and like the individual city, each system has its distinctive features and characteristics. An analysis of the underlying purposes and aims which have guided the growth of several of these systems might furnish material for interesting comparisons.

A study of the history of this library, to discover those factors which have been most significant in shaping its development and progress, has directed attention to what seem to be six major directing influences:

Its connection with the educational system rather than with the city government, and its autonomy within its own sphere.

The laws under which it has operated, their gradual amendment and improvement.

The character of its personnel—trustees, executives, and general staff.

Certain clearly defined ideals, and the direction of effort toward their realization.

What may be termed its opportunistic policy, using that phrase in its best connotation.

Its integration with the life of the city.

The evolution from a small library into a large and comprehensive library system involves much organization and reorganization, as old methods fail to meet new conditions. Reorganization of the Cleveland Library began when William Howard Brett, of blessed memory, became its librarian and devoted his ability and his energies to its improvement.

Reorganization, in some form, has been in process almost constantly since that time.

To bring the books which best meet his needs within the awareness and the easy access of every resident of the city has been the constant aim which has led to the development of branches, children's and young people's rooms, school libraries, classroom collections, stations, hospital service, group-service, the extramural activities and field work. The newly created County Library District has also been served, under contract, in very recent years.

In the administration of the system, thirteen departments have evolved, with offices in the central building. Of these, the Branch, School, Stations, Children's, and County departments are largely responsible for the extension work of the system. A number of the departments are organized in turn into several definite divisions. There is probably little in the Cleveland work which is not more or less closely paralleled elsewhere. The features oftenest commented on by those interested in the larger administrative problems of public libraries are the organization of the book collections and the direct service to readers at the Main Library, and the planning of the building itself for this type of organization. Specialized service to children and to schools, developed at first by only a few libraries, has long since become very general; the divisional administration of the large central book collection is a further extension of such specialized service to the adult readers of the community.

In considering this divisional development, the ending of a recent book by Abbé Dimnet comes to mind; he says that in many things "it is a matter of a beginning and a method. The beginning belongs to God, but the method belongs to us." The idea of specialized departments or divisions of a library devoted to definite subjects did not originate here; numerous examples of such departments previously existing

could doubtless readily be given, and research might trace back through history for their origin, but we are quite content to leave the beginnings where Dimnet places them, and to turn our attention entirely to methods and motives.

This brings us back to Mr. Brett's administration of this library. He was fettered less than most men, either by traditions or by obstacles. The objective most clearly in his mind, in all of his problems of library organization, was service to readers; he was, in fact, a quite perfect exemplification of Monsignor Tisserant's observation when he said: "The European librarian has been led through centuries to think of libraries in terms of books. The American librarian through his experience thinks of libraries in terms of readers."

One of Mr. Brett's finest qualities, and perhaps the greatest in its far-reaching effects, was his ability to do teamwork with the members of his staff. Singularly adept in selecting assistants in whom he recognized like ideals—which led him to characterize them as "our kind of people"—he was also gifted in his faculty for developing their initiative, and unusually generous in giving credit where credit was due. These facts perhaps will explain why an honest attempt to attribute, either to Mr. Brett himself or to any one of his helpers, the development of the present divisional system, must inevitably lead to the conclusion that it has resulted from collaboration in which heads of departments and divisions and even many minor assistants have had their share, in evolving all that may be termed "our" methods. It should be emphasized also that even these methods are ours largely by adaptation.

However, so far as it related to local application, the initial idea of subject arrangement of the circulating books by alcoves was unquestionably Mr. Brett's own, when he first opened up for free access the largest library which at that time had committed itself to an open-shelf policy. The germ was there, and it waxed and grew strong with the expansion

of the work and with a study of its problems and the ways of solving them. Always most liberal in assigning to the Circulating Department books which are frequently consigned to the reference shelves, and likewise in the loan of material from the Reference Department itself, the rule of the library has ever since been that the books should be used in the way in which they would be of most service—a rule which, of course, also recognizes that rare and irreplaceable works must be carefully preserved.

With the Reference Department on one floor and the Circulating Department on another, as they were for years, it was observed that there were difficulties, delays, and frequent failures in putting before a reader all available material desired on a given subject. The gradual development of a trained staff improved the service, but not sufficiently, and it became evident that as the collections increased in size the separation of books relating to one subject would become a more and more serious obstacle to users of the library.

The chief difficulties inherent in the situation were the physical separation of the books themselves, their administration by the staffs of two different departments, and the inability of these assistants to become acquainted with the entire contents of the library, or with its users. Some approach to a solution of these difficulties seemed to lie in the modification of the former Circulating and Reference departments, and the segregation of the subject material from both in units or divisions which should contain both reference and circulating books and which would not be too large to permit of a thorough acquaintance with the books and their subject matter, on the part of those in charge of the units.

When the first planning for a permanent main building began, the various sketches of possible arrangement of space to accommodate a library so divided differed greatly from most large library buildings previously built; therefore, when

it became necessary to move, in 1913, to larger temporary quarters, the opportunity was welcomed to test out experimentally the theories of divisional organization which had been evolving. The occupation of these rented quarters, planned for a period of six years, extended to twelve, so the experimental stage was sufficiently long and thorough to bring greater assurance to the final planning of the permanent home of the library. The great loft of the commercial building in which those twelve years were spent, a room nearly four hundred and fifty feet long, proved a good laboratory for the transitional reorganization effected there, as the juxtaposition of the divisions on a single floor, with bookshelves as the only dividing partitions, made intercommunication easy and aided in fostering the habits of coöperation so essential on the part of the staff. When the divisions were instituted, the library was unable to command the services of specialists who were bibliographical authorities, even if these had been available at the time. The alternative adopted was to select those assistants whose interests, abilities, training, and experience seemed to fit them best for heading the various divisions, and to develop them into specialists in their subjects; the fifteen years of intensive experience and study which have since elapsed have worked toward this result, and it has been fortunate indeed that comparatively few changes of those in charge have occurred during all these years.

Taking the various divisions in their present condition and setting, with some consideration to the problems involved in their housing and operation, this account will treat chiefly of the divisions concerned with the administration of the central collections of books and other materials for adult users, organized as one of the chief departments of the system, under a head whose title is librarian of the Main Library. Philosophy and Religion are grouped in one division, Science

and Technology in another, History, Biography, and Travel in a third; Sociology, Fine Arts, and Literature each requires a division to itself; the Popular Library is so called from the nature of its work, referred to later; other divisions are the General Reference Division, John G. White Collection, Foreign Language and Periodical divisions, Newspaper Reading Room, and Library for the Blind; in addition there are two service divisions, the Loan and Shelf divisions.

In planning for the housing of these divisions, certain considerations were kept constantly in mind. First of all was a sufficient number of open shelves, direct contact of readers with the books being a prime object in this system, where free access has long been an essential feature. However, the rapid growth of this library, from a good working collection of moderate size, with little material unsuitable for popular use, into a large library containing much material of interest only to the scholar or the research worker and many treasures which need protection and safeguarding, made the shelving problem a complicated one. The building site being nearly square, the book stacks were placed around an inner light court (except on the main floor, where they surround Brett Hall), the stack ends opening directly into the reading rooms of the various divisions; additional wall shelving covers all available space in these reading rooms. The open wall cases and the lower tier of the adjacent stacks contain the most used books and those to which free access is desirable; the stacks, three tiers high on the main floor and two on all others, afford space on their upper levels for the books less frequently consulted and those which should be protected from constant handling, locked cases being provided for rare and very valuable works. Automatic book-lifts connect with possible future storage space above or below.

The reading rooms occupy the open space between the stacks and the outer walls, the large windows affording abun-

dant natural light. As the divisions occupy the entire space on two floors of the building and a large part of two others, the attempt was made to place those divisions frequented by the largest number of visitors where they would be most quickly accessible; careful study was likewise given to the interrelations of the divisions, those having most contacts being placed contiguously so far as this proved feasible. Intercommunication is generously provided by stairways, elevators, and book-lifts; the Bell telephone, an automatic house telephone, and a number of telautograph connections; there is also an adequate system of buzzer signals between desks and stacks in each division.

The entire equipment of the fifteen reading rooms with their adjacent offices, and its arrangement, was planned with a view to efficiency of service and comfort of readers and of staff. A number of cubicles and small quiet rooms are available for writers and research workers.

When the decision to adopt the divisional plan was made, it was recognized that each division would require a catalogue of its own collection, in addition to the general catalogue. Duplication of the cards was at once begun, in connection with necessary revision; good progress has been made, and a number of the division catalogues are now complete. The general catalogue occupies a room directly to the left of the entrance corridor, adjoining the General Reference Division and under its supervision, one or two members of the general reference staff being constantly on duty there, assisting users of the catalogue and answering telephone or telautograph inquiries.

The Popular Library, adjoining the Loan Division, contains all of the circulating fiction and some books of general interest from the various other classes. It gives the quick service demanded by the lunch-counter type of borrower who picks his book on the run; it also attempts, through

changing displays of books on timely subjects, and by various other methods, to introduce its visitors to all of the divisions of the library. The amount of reference work done with the fiction collection in the Popular Library is rather surprising; in this its subject index is an indispensable aid. As about half of the main library circulation is from this division, it makes possible in the other divisions that atmosphere of greater quiet and leisure so desirable for them; and not only does the Popular Library relieve them of the fiction readers, the casual borrowers, and the hurried borrowers, but it sorts out and directs potential users to these other divisions; one of the readers' advisers has her desk in this division and finds many opportunities for interviewing and assisting new registrants as they begin their use of the library.

During the last five or six years the book appropriations have fortunately made increasing amounts available for the up-building of the reference collections of the divisions, which have grown by more than a hundred thousand volumes in these few years. The advisory services of Dr. Root of Oberlin were helpful in beginning a more systematic rounding out, filling in, and expanding of the resources of the library, than had hitherto been possible. The division heads and the librarian of the Main Library keep up a constant study of bibliographies and of sale catalogues for desiderata. In the expenditure of the book funds, the attempt is to meet first the pressing and legitimate current demands; second, to take advantage of special prices and unusual offerings of desirable books; and third, to make some steady progress toward a completeness of subject collections sufficient for future local needs. Care is being exercised not to duplicate unnecessarily expensive or little-used works which are in other libraries in the city, and certain fields are left to the specialized libraries; thus the professional literature on law and medicine is left entirely to the law and medical li-

braries, respectively, and family genealogy largely to the Historical Society.

To the long-honored president of the Board of Trustees, lately deceased, the debts of the library are manifold. At his death an editorial writer, in describing his gifts of books to the library, and their increasing usefulness, said of him: "Five hundred years from now, say around 2400, the best known Clevelander of our times is likely to be John G. White." The broad vision and wise planning with which Mr. White built up for the library his great collection of Folklore, Orientalia, and allied subjects, and provided for its continued growth, has made the John G. White Collection a veritable mine for research, and a rich source for supplemental material for each of the other divisions.

In such a divisional organization as has developed here, the staff of a division can discover and make contacts with all groups concerned with subjects included in that division; it can learn their book needs and prepare to meet these needs; it can give to individual readers the full benefit of its specialized knowledge of books and its experience in working with them. This knowledge and experience are also at the service of the branch librarians and extension staffs, and the main library resources are therefore more useful to the entire system.

In any divisional arrangement there is inevitably some overlapping of subjects; this is met partially by such duplication of books and bibliographical tools as will make for efficiency and save time for readers. Although readers are sometimes sent from one division to another for additional material, the books are quite as often brought to them, and the General Reference Division assembles references or material when it is scattered in several divisions; it also answers the ready reference and general questions. Information is requested on a great variety of subjects by business men, and

a Business Bureau is in process of organization in connection with the General Reference Division, to strengthen this growing field of service. The information desk in the main lobby of the library makes an important contribution to the smooth functioning of a system which might otherwise seem complicated to many visitors. The office of the readers' adviser is close at hand and to it are referred those who wish systematic direction or guidance in their general reading or study. The administrative problems clear through the office of the department head, which is also easily accessible to readers for consultation or advice.

The work of the various divisions has been more fully described elsewhere[1] and need not be enlarged upon further; mention should be made, however, of the Municipal Reference Library, a civic reference branch in the City Hall several blocks away, which, because of the interdependence of this specialized branch and the main collections, is organized as an extramural division of the Main Library. Two of the twelve other administrative departments of the system whose offices are in the main building also have public divisions adjoining them, and opening into each other. These are the Lewis Carroll Room of the Children's Department, and the Stevenson Room for Young People of the School Department. While giving service to the boys and girls who frequent them, such as is given in similar rooms in the branch libraries, their most important function is as demonstration laboratories for parents, teachers, and others interested in the reading of children and adolescents.

The divisional organization could not meet its real test until it settled into its own building, but with nearly four years of this final test, it is perhaps not too early for some appraisals. In the temporary quarters, up to 1925, the maxi-

1. Marilla Waite Freeman, "Cleveland's divisional plan for reference work," *Library Journal*, Oct. 15, 1925, pp. 843-847.

mum attendance on busy days had been about two thousand; the average daily record for the year 1928 was nearly 5,800. The advantages of the new location over the old are at least partially offset by disadvantages; the improved facilities, the comfort and the attractiveness of the building are powerful incentives to its use, but if both it and the organization of the work for which it was planned were not functioning with fair success there would by this time be abundant evidence to that effect. The service does appear to be giving general satisfaction, however, judging by the few criticisms received, and by much favorable comment, which comes alike from local readers with small basis for comparative opinion and from those whose use of libraries has been extensive; the appreciation so frequently volunteered by the latter seems somewhat conclusive.

The rapid growth of the work in the new building has necessitated doubling or trebling the staffs of a number of the divisions, and the additional assistants have been selected so far as possible because of qualifications for the particular division to which they are assigned, such as the major in college, postgraduate studies, and specialized library training or experience. The deepest concern of all has been to assimilate so many new and young workers rapidly, and to imbue them with that spirit of devoted service which has been responsible for all that is best in the past development of the library.

Weak spots there are in the organization, enough of them to require earnest preoccupation with their elimination, and any organization so complex will always demand a constant keying up and harmonizing of its diverse elements if it is to function without friction.

The question of the comparative cost of operation must have serious consideration in the study of any administrative plan. In this case the question is inseparable from that of the results to be achieved. If the intelligent, effective meet-

ing of the individual needs of all readers, present and potential, is the goal, it would seem possible for the large library to approach this goal more nearly under the divisional system of organization than it could for the same expenditure of funds without the specialized units.

Is such a goal a chimera? It has, in reality, been the bright gleam which Cleveland has followed, however tortuously, ever since Mr. Brett caught its first glimmerings and took it for his star. The ideal of bringing books to all of the people has come to include the ability to serve each with books or information adapted to his age, education, level of intelligence, and range of interest, and the divisional organization of the library is proving one important means to this end.

CONCERT A.D. 2025 IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY THE CHIEF OF THE MUSIC DIVISION

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary of the Fine Arts, Ladies and Gentlemen:

OF necessity a limited—but brilliant—group, you are gathered here tonight in the small auditorium of the old Library of Congress to celebrate a centenary. And you are celebrating it in rather a quaint fashion: by attending a "concert."

We lost the habit of going to concerts when mechanical genius freed the appeal of music and musician from the narrow bounds of a locale, when the musical creator and interpreter discovered in the perfected machine a helpmate instead of a foe, and the artist could safely launch upon the sea of space tone freighted with all the riches of the soul.

Miracle has sprung from miracle. Performer and listener have long ceased to mourn the disappearance of a mixed and interfering "audience." We have recovered the key to musical modestness and privacy. The lesser and the lower talents disport themselves outside the gates. Choice, not chance, determines the conditions and the company in which we hear the masters.

If, without abdicating our right of choice, we revert tonight to a bygone custom, the reason is that exactly one hundred years have passed since the first concerts were given in this little hall. They formed a departure, they inaugurated a new era in the development of our national library. I shall not recite the many and varied causes that have contributed to this development, inspiring as their recital would be. Their

effect is patent to all. This venerable building was but the first rampart in what is now a mighty citadel of the written and printed page. With the aid of forward-looking and generous citizens, our Government has been enabled to rear an unparalleled establishment for the propagation of art and learning.

As we look back upon the past, we realize that when in 1925 Congress "quite complacently"—I borrow the words of a former Librarian of Congress—allowed its library to accept the first money provided by a private individual for the performance of music under government auspices, it earned our lasting gratitude. An almost casual touch opened the doors to larger opportunity, to higher service. The full significance of the move may have escaped the legislative and executive branches of that day. At least no chronicle relates that a representative of either attended "officially" those first concerts. Time has wrought many changes. The presence, tonight, of the Chief Executive, and of a member of his Cabinet, alone declares one capital difference. And the envoys of the foreign national unions, present here, again attest that music—that all art, all science—forms one of the strongest bonds of international harmony.

Perhaps I should remind you that, in the former calendar, this day was the thirtieth of October. For one hundred years the library has marked it—with music—as the birth date, some hundred and fifty years ago, of the woman who gave to the Music Division this hall and the endowment that perpetuates her name and her ideals. The Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Foundation has borne rich fruit; it has upheld musical standards and furthered musical advance. And the founder probably little dreamed that, thanks to her, the Library of Congress would some day be the only place where four players, especially trained to handle the obsolete string instruments, would keep up the traditions of the string

quartet, or where occasionally a pianoforte could still be heard.

Fate decreed that the thirtieth of October—in 1928—should also have been the death date of Oscar Sonneck, first chief of the Music Division. The prodigious labors of this scholar and bibliographer are one of the glories of musicology. In our country, he was a pioneer. A native American, he was the first historian of our musical beginnings. The music collection that he built up in our national library is properly his monument. The "Musicological Seminar," later organized in connection with it, was but a fitting tribute to his zeal and faith.

A third name must be associated with our commemoration tonight: that of Herbert Putnam. It is too well known, too well beloved by everyone who is familiar with the annals of this institution to require more than proud and thankful mention. Human events are shaped by personalities. The very things we are commemorating here tonight could not have come to pass, one hundred years ago, without the vision and the tact of Herbert Putnam, without the qualities of mind and character that made him a great Librarian of Congress because he was a great person.

The century that lies behind us has been a truly amazing one. Among the few forces of nature that our modern age has not yet brought into submission, is the capricious power of sentiment. To be sure, science has shown us unsuspected ways of controlling mental states. But our emotions range free as ever, and to nothing do they respond more quickly or more passionately than to the secret sway of music. We find that it still takes, not only measurable skill, but undefinable inspiration if the musician would exercise that sway. Thus music, happily, remains one of the Arts.

Music has not lived up to all the predictions—fanciful or doleful—made for it by our great-grandparents. But in cer-

tain directions, particularly with regard to sound production and sound transmission, we have certainly surpassed anything they had imagined. Nor could they have quite foreseen the latest stages in the psychophysiological evolution of our inner ear.

One hundred years ago there could already be seen clear signs that the diatonic scale and the enharmonic system of tempered intervals were doomed. They no longer sufficed. It was noise that destroyed them. It was noise that came very near destroying us. When regulation and legislation proved futile in the face of our motorized pandemonium, it was the invention of the "sound-filter"—that marvelous little device which guards our aural nerves against inimical vibrations—that saved our race of city dwellers.

But noise once having thoroughly shaken up our auditory sense, there was nothing left for music but to adjust itself gradually, in order to overcome a new state of fatigue. Our ear demanded fresh stimuli. How magnificently music has met these demands! And in the process of adjustment, music has ultimately slipped off the shackles that tied it for so long to word or picture, that held it to the plane of design and the bulk of architecture. Music has become more musical. From homophonic and polyphonic, it expanded into metaphonic music. It has grown four-dimensional. It acquired new sonority, new purity, new beauty.

Tonight we shall hear some old music under conditions similar to those that prevailed a century ago. The Secretary of Air Communications has kindly directed that all aerial traffic be stopped over this section of the city for the duration of the concert. We shall recapture a concrete bit of the programs of 1925, when we resurrect from the phonographic archives of the Library the blended voices of six artists famed in their day as "The English Singers." They made their first appearance in America on this stage, exactly one hundred

years ago. We shall hear their records of English motets and madrigals four hundred years old. And if we carefully suppress all semblance of boasting, let us admit that our present reproducing apparatus will make these records sound a little better and more natural than they did at the time they were made.

The members of the Library String Quartet will perform Beethoven's now rarely heard Opus 130, which also was played at the concerts in 1925. A slight concession to modernity—and a decided improvement over the methods of our ancestors—will be the playing of a "Concerto Grosso" for strings and piano, by Ernest Bloch, on the electrorchestron; the piano part—no longer tolerable to our ears on a tempered "concert grand"—will be played on a modern metallorgan of pure intonation. This piece was conducted by the composer, in this hall, at the music festival in October, 1926.

The modern part of this evening's program should afford us peculiar satisfaction, not only because of its distinction and novelty, but because of the assistance lent by the governments of other nations. The United Republics of Eastern Europe are offering us their great national chorus of two thousand singers whom we shall hear singing in Moscow a work especially composed for this occasion by Trazomsky. The tonal laboratories at Ivry-sur-Seine and Königswusterhausen will contribute new compositions by the French and German masters, Carrossier and Zoberli; they will be transmitted directly to the station at Arlington. Our phonogenerators at Schenectady and Buffalo will join in the first rendition of a new work which our own John S. Brook was commissioned to write for this concert.

Let me confess that when I stepped out to address you I did not intend to detain you so long. The truth is that for the last few moments I have been temporizing. The large new government plant at San Diego, which asked for the privi-

lege of opening the program, has met with slight atmospheric difficulties in putting through some of its aerophones. I just saw on the flash-board the signal that all is clear now between San Diego and Washington.

Mr. President, Mr. Secretary, Ladies and Gentlemen—the concert can begin.

WILLIAM H. WHITMORE AND THE EARLY PRINTED LAWS OF MASSACHUSETTS

BY MAX FARRAND

IT must be a matter of regret to every sympathetic person that William H. Whitmore, Record Commissioner and City Registrar of Boston, did not live to see in the flesh the fulfilment of his hope that a copy of the *Massachusetts Laws* of 1648 would ultimately be found in some library in England. There are few books in the world and none in America that had been sought so persistently. Six hundred copies were recorded to have been printed and not a single one was known. It is little wonder skeptics doubted that the printing had ever been carried through to completion, but Whitmore kept his faith. Of all the students of early Massachusetts laws he had made the most careful study of contemporary records and was convinced that the Book of Laws had been printed, and he believed that a copy would some time be found.

He would have been interested in the way his hopes were finally realized. A physician, at the sale of the library of the Mayor of Rye, England, purchased a volume containing among other things this early American imprint. He was accustomed to show this item to his friends as something of a curiosity, but he was entirely unaware of its value until he carried it to the Cambridge University Library, where he was told of the treasure he had unwittingly acquired. Its subsequent history was not commonplace, although more in keeping with the fortunes of a matchless piece in book collecting. In 1906, as soon as its rarity was appreciated, it was sold through the agency of Stevens and Brown to Dodd,

Mead and Company in New York. Then it passed into the possession of E. Dwight Church, and with the Church library the Book of Laws came to its final resting place in the Henry E. Huntington collections.

E. Dwight Church was first and foremost a collector, but he was also retiring to the point of shyness and, although he was glad to show his treasures to friends and appreciative fellow collectors, he avoided everything in the way of publicity, especially if it would result in further demands upon him and in intrusion upon his privacy. Dr. George Watson Cole prepared a catalogue, which was subsequently printed, of the entire Church library with a facsimile of the title-page and a description of each book in the collection, and among the items so listed and described was *The Book of the General Lawes and Libertyes* of 1648. While this catalogue was in preparation, the late Nathan Matthews of Boston, learning of the acquisition of this long-sought-for book, thought that it might contain provisions of importance in a Massachusetts lawsuit in which he was engaged as counsel. Matthews did not appreciate the owner's retiring disposition and he was amazed to have his request to be allowed to examine the book refused. He accordingly resorted to a threat of legal compulsion, which would have resulted in undesired publicity and might have involved reprinting if the work were made a part of the legal record of the state of Massachusetts, and the owner reluctantly allowed the book to be examined. Nothing was found bearing upon the suit in question, and the possibility of further and unpleasant complications was avoided. But Matthews had become excited over the significance for Massachusetts law of the book he was one of the few to have seen and perhaps the first to recognize its legal importance. At a subsequent meeting of the Massachusetts Bar Association Matthews described the Book of Laws and enlarged upon its significance, incidentally telling

of the difficulties he had encountered in obtaining permission to examine it. The story is repeated here from a stenographic report of his remarks.

When the Church library passed into the possession of Henry E. Huntington a more liberal policy was followed. Several photostat copies were made upon request and were deposited in libraries, mainly in Massachusetts. Since then eleven more copies have been made and distributed among other libraries, through the series of photostats of rare Americana under the direction of Dr. Worthington C. Ford. Now the Huntington Library, in coöperation with the Harvard University Press, is bringing out a reprint of the Book of Laws so as to make available this most important of all Massachusetts statute books.

Whitmore would have been one of the very first to have studied the Book of Laws as soon as a copy was available. His feelings would doubtless have been tinged with chagrin, although pride should have predominated, for his successful predictions far outnumber his mistakes in describing the contents of the unknown book. In fact, his insistence that the Book of Laws was of 1649, instead of 1648, is the most serious misinterpretation in his findings. His other errors are almost negligible. For example, in his *Bibliographical Sketch of the Laws of the Massachusetts Colony* (1890), thirty-four pages of which are devoted to the general subject, he gives a list of titles, derived from various references, "which were certainly in the printed Code of 1649." These are substantially correct. There were 123 titles in the original, of which Whitmore lists fifty-one, with the actual page references for most of them. Some of the captions are printed on pages preceding the ones ascribed to them, but the provisions thereunder are continued on the pages listed. Only six of the titles he gives are not to be found, but even then the subjects to which these mistaken titles refer are always included at the pages given.

The 1660 edition of the Laws carries on its title-page an astonishing statement, "published by the same Authority in the General Court holden at *Boston,* in *May* 1649." Whitmore, in *The Colonial Laws of Massachusetts* (1889, pp. 11 and 79) and in *A Bibliographical Sketch* (p. 81), concluded that the words were copied from the earlier work, and it was this conclusion that led him to pronounce the first "Code as that of 1649." The title-page of the earlier Book of Laws was evidently the model for the wording of the title-page of the later Book, but the date is given as "the fourteenth of the first month *Anno* 1647." Lower on the title-page the date of printing is given as 1648 and the text includes actions of the General Court, and references thereto, in 1648, so that we are justified in accepting that year for the date of the Book of Laws.

Having established the date of 1649 to his satisfaction, Whitmore makes the further mistake of arguing at length against the "rather startling suggestion" of George H. Moore that the date on the 1660 title-page is a misprint for May, *1659.* It has just been shown that the date could not have been copied from the Book of Laws of 1648, and the simplest solution is the one offered by Moore. If this be correct, and there seems to be no other plausible explanation, we have here an example of that most unusual happening, a misprint on a title-page. It is also probable that the mistaken date passed uncorrected through the various stages of printing on the assumption that it was copied from the title-page of the earlier work.

Whitmore would have been interested also in the London reprint of "The Capitall Lawes of . . . 1641. 1642." The broadside was found in the British Museum and was reproduced in facsimile by The Colonial Society of Massachusetts in the publication of its *Transactions* of 1913-14. The colophon reads: "Printed first in *New-England,* and re-printed in *London* . . . 1643."

But there is another result emerging from Whitmore's studies and from the finding of a copy of the Laws of 1648 that is worthy of consideration by all librarians and from them might well be brought to the attention of collectors. Charles Evans in his *American Bibliography* has included many items to which the depressing record is finally attached, "No copy is known to be extant." Of course, all collectors worthy of the name would have their attention attracted by any American imprint of the seventeenth century, yet such a list of unfound items as could be compiled from Evans leaves one rather cold, because it is so extensive and acquisition seems rather hopeless. But the very finding of a copy of the Book of Laws of 1648 and the circumstances attending its discovery should stimulate to fresh effort in the search for some specific items such as the New England imprint of *The Capitall Lawes* of 1642, and the "Supplements" to the *Book of Lawes* of 1648 which are recorded to have been printed in 1650, 1654, and 1657. These now seem within the realm of possible finding and it is conceivable that the Body of Liberties might also have been printed, although the evidence is strongly on the other side.

SOUTH AFRICAN LIBRARIES

BY MILTON J. FERGUSON

WORD of the intention to recognize on April 5, 1929, the outstanding services of Mr. Herbert Putnam as librarian and man came to me this morning at this little African village hidden on an inlet of the Indian Ocean. Imagination takes me instantly away from this new old land, struggling to find a rule of life and living, back to America. In far perspective I see my countrymen busy at their tasks, working with a will, whether with head or hand, and heart, and laughing in the joy of doing. I like to think that whatever greatness and worth our nation may possess have been achieved because merit is the standard by which we weigh and judge. I am constrained to hold that, without invidious comparison, we have taken advantage of the contributions of others, and, thus encouraged upon our journey, have made further excursions into the realms of commerce, industry, citizenship, city building, the arts, home making, life. If these thoughts in any sense be true, must we then not give credit to those who taught our youth to aspire, and to those who made accessible to them the thoughts and deeds of all time, whereon to try their mental powers? And in such task of public enlightenment and encouragement he who sets the standard has a responsibility which increases in weight as time goes by. It was, therefore, of the greatest importance in the development of an American library system that thirty years ago Mr. Putnam was given in charge the rough elements from which he has wrought that splendid, that magnificent institution of national and of international usefulness and power, the Library of Congress.

But what, you may ask, about South Africa, this blunt

spear point thrust downward in an effort to separate the turbulent waters of Atlantic and Indian Oceans? Has it libraries, as well as gold and diamonds and native problems? And is their influence spreading beneficently from Cape to Victoria Falls, upon the great Karoo; and is it searching out the dweller in the back veldt as well as him who enjoys the fruits of city coöperation?

My British colleague and I have perhaps covered more of this vast country than have most of its own people. We can bear witness to its wonders, to its native flora and fauna armed for defense, to the not to be surpassed hospitality of its citizens. We have been shown the treasures of its libraries, and as frankly been permitted to open any of the corner cupboards wherein its bookish skeletons might find hiding. And make no mistake about it: South Africa has books, has that from which libraries might be built. But in the sense you and I understand the term South Africa, in all kindliness, has few, very few, libraries.

If one goes into a small town, even in Zululand or Pondoland, where whites—or Europeans as Africa prefers to designate them—are mere specks in the great black sea around them, he will find a library. On its committee will generally be found the district magistrate—if that be his seat—the schoolmaster, the mayor, the most influential men and women of the community. More often than not the library will be housed in its own home—an old government building, the gift of a public spirited citizen, or the acquisition of the group interested. It is open at regular hours. Its shelves are full of books; in fact the need for shelf room is frequently so urgent that the visit of the Carnegie Corporation representatives is hailed as an opportunity to make a plea for a new building, or an addition to the old one, with the ocular demonstration of every inch occupied as a clinching argument. Fiction predominates, the more appealing of it, and western

American stories fall heavily within that class, bearing mute evidences of much thumbing. The statistics likewise confirm one's impressions that recreational reading is in greatest demand; for novels usually in the bigger and better libraries reach the startling proportion of 90 per cent of the circulation. Nor is this condition to be explained by the assumption that only fiction is purchased; the Government for its small grant requires that a quarter of the books bought from that fund be of the class variety, and also that a reading room be open to the public wherein any "eligible" person may sit and read. Excellent volumes of biography, history, art, philosophy, science, and especially collections of Africana are in small and large libraries alike. The latter, however, are seldom worn; and as one checks them more closely, he discovers that in the country at large duplication in this field reaches astounding proportions. The reason is not that South Africans are so pleasure loving; they are human and do need recreation; but the libraries are supported at an average of £1 per person per year, and the subscribers who alone may withdraw books for home reading number from 3 to 5 per cent of the population.

One is told quite positively by the very intelligent judge or business man on the committee of management that the country people will not read, in fact, that most South Africans do not care for books. This they maintain is an outdoor people, that here is too much sunshine, that few will stay indoors to read a book and that these few pay their pound and take it out in fiction. The call of the veldt and the seashore under the warm kiss of a subtropical sun might be argument enough hurled at a resident of Glasgow with its fogs and cold, but it is promptly impaled on the California prong of the commission. No, the answer is rather to be found in the fact that librarianship here is not a profession; that except in a small number of the larger cities the libra-

rian is merely a servant of the board which makes all decisions, selects the books, and takes the responsibility; that coöperation, even locally, is little appreciated, and nationally or provincially never practiced; that the libraries are not supported by all, and therefore open to all by right and not by charity; that little really helpful thought has been given to the needs of children in town and country; and that the widely scattered country population as a whole—those who would learn the meaning of the term "magnificent distances" should look no farther than Africa—is beyond the pale of the book in a public-library sense.

Is the picture gloomy? Not at all, when one knows the facts, government officials, library authorities, councilmen, schoolmasters, and those few highly intelligent librarians handicapped through their wide separation, when better methods are expounded are alert to the library possibilities of the morrow. In convention, soon to assemble, the prospects are bright that South Africa will take her place among the more progressive of nations in bringing books to her people. They see, down here far below the line, that a united and informed citizenry is necessary in the building of stable government, in the prosperity and happiness of a land which in this modern age must not lack any of the advantages of civilization. They have long wondered whether it were wise to support schools, and to forget the afteryear intellectual requirements of the product thereof. And should this month fail to bring about the consummation so greatly to be wished by the overseas visitors, they know that the soil thus scratched will catch enough of the fallen seeds to bring forth harvest, if not this year, then the next. The vital spark sometimes lies long before it germinates in desert soil, but soon or late the rains come, and fields are clothed in brilliant blossom.

May one draw together the widely separated ends of this necessarily hastily written story intended as a mark of re-

spect and admiration for the man who for thirty years has worked in the building of a national library of which every American is proud? Quite easily, I assure you. Had South Africa been fortunate in the possession a generation ago of one, even lesser, Herbert Putnam to set the pace, to sound the call for coöperation in a great national enterprise whose influence must inevitably have been felt throughout this vast area, two visitors and their families would have been denied the opportunity to take part in a splendid movement. The need today would not exist. To meet South Africans is an unalloyed joy; to see their land, a pleasure never to be forgotten. And I could wish for them in the years to come no better gift than that within their borders there may be found a genius for library organization and progress possessing some of the qualities which have so signally distinguished the man at the helm of the Library of Congress.

Royal Hotel, Knysna, C.P.
November 8, 1928.

A DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS

BY WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD

FIFTY years ago no separate division of manuscripts existed in any institution in the land. What manuscripts were in libraries or historical societies slumbered in their original forms, and access to them was regarded as a privilege, to be granted or withheld at the whim or courtesy of the librarian. Indexes, if any, were primitive and misleading; the card index was in the future, and slips of paper of varying sizes, loose in shallow drawers or boxes and easily shuffled on opening the container, offered the only means of testing the papers short of an examination, page by page. Where bound, the arrangement of the manuscript in the volumes might be chronological, or by writers, or by subject. Arbitrary classification separated related papers and their enclosures, and the usual unsigned and undated matter was gathered into a final volume or package, to be generally overlooked by the investigator.

Even in the great collections purchased by the United States Government and deposited in the Department of State for want of a better habitat, this confusion ruled. The investigators were few in number, but of a quality; and such writers as John Bigelow, Henry Cabot Lodge, and Edward Everett Hale were annoyed by the pettiness and red-tape methods of the custodians. In the larger historical societies the conditions were worse, and permission to consult or to make copies was rarely granted, on the ground that the society itself might some day want to use the papers in its own publications, a promise rarely fulfilled. An honorable exception was the Pennsylvania Historical Society under the direction of Frederick D. Stone, among the first to appreciate that a

free use by students of its possessions brought reputation and gifts to the institution. Manuscripts in private hands remained unknown, sheltered from the intruder by an idea that use or publication destroyed the money value of the manuscript.

Under the secretaryship of Hon. Thomas F. Bayard, a gentleman who knew somewhat of history, new rules were framed governing access to, and use of, the Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and Continental Congress collections in the Department of State, and they introduced more liberal methods, not dependent upon the personal likes or dislikes of the officer in charge. I assisted in formulating the rules and Messrs. Bigelow and Lodge were the first to benefit by them. As yet few applied for admission to examine the papers, and the number of students trained in history constituted but a small part of the applicants. The trial of the new regulations, limited as it was, proved of interest, for it showed how readily proper distinctions could be made in the grant of privilege. The difference between the casual inquirer, rather indifferently conscious of what he wanted, and the honest worker of sincere intent is easily discovered by a few leading questions. Yet the fact that a single room, occupied by four or five employees of the Department, and containing two or three working tables which had to be cleared of piles of official papers, sufficed to meet the demand, speaks loudly of the limited extent to which research was carried.

As the universities turned out annually an increasing number of capable students of history, applications for access increased in the Department of State and in historical societies. The time had come for a radical change in the control of manuscript material. The societies lagged behind, loath to open their stores, and resisting requests to be permitted to know what they had in the way of historical manuscripts. The common method of checking the inquirer was to insist that he designate a particular paper he wished to see. As the

catalogue, if it existed, was as vague as the inquirer, the combination did not help, and disappointment followed. Persistence might accomplish something, the backing of a prominent member of the society more; but the whole system rested upon uncertainty, as exasperating as it was unnecessary and discouraging. The one place where a person could run riot, following his own desires, was in certain of the state archives—a name almost unknown, and a thing in reality to be found only in an embryonic form. Lacking proper care and interest on the part of the keepers, such archives suffered great losses, and a knowledge of that tended to make curators in other places too careful of what they held.

The situation had not materially changed when the building of the Library of Congress rose. Its collection of historical manuscripts was then small in number and not of great value. To exhaust its interest required little time and about the best thing that could be said about it was that it was fairly well catalogued and even calendars had been begun. So far as the mechanical features were concerned, they were good, and the foundations of that branch of manuscript service were then laid to be expanded as the collections might grow. And the growth was rapid, consistent, and fruitful. The easiest part was to accumulate; the more difficult, to make those accumulations available to the student. Fortunately the freest use was accorded to the applicant and, by proving the value of the special collection he consulted, he offered an indication which the keeper of the manuscripts could guide by suggestion and knowledge, while greatly increasing his own familiarity with the papers. A restricted system would have been a bar to investigation; annoying rules would have hampered the service of the Division of Manuscripts; and an atmosphere of distrust would have prevented those relations between the searcher and the custodian which enrich both. The liberal policy of the Department of State was applied in the Library of Congress.

It may be too much to claim that the example was deliberately followed in other libraries and societies, yet the influence was undoubtedly potent. In a period of thirty years the understanding of manuscript material has been carefully developed and always in the direction of their free use by those who can show an honest intention and experience or ability. No institution of moment can afford to follow the old practice of selfishly impounding for its own undefined purposes what it possesses. All are affected by public qualities and what they contain are held for public uses.

Yet not a little remains to be done. While the spirit which controls can do much, the mechanical features of a manuscript division need advancing. The documents are received, arranged, mounted, and bound; they are listed by writers and calendared by contents; to the skilled they offer the best that is in them and under good conditions. The unskilled are, however, a necessary problem, for they constitute the great majority of those in search of information. Printed finding lists would help; an indication of what related collections exist in other places would be useful; a fuller knowledge of the contents of a collection would aid. Time and money are required for such undertakings, but the increasing need will bring the means of meeting it.

I have considered one class of institutions competent to deal with manuscripts and have omitted another, of even greater importance, because they are almost nonexistent in this country. Any investigator who has undertaken to consult the records of an executive department of government, state or national, will encounter difficulties that seem as unreasonable as they are unnecessary. The office has its daily routine and is inconvenienced by intrusion of visitors asking unusual questions. Its papers soon pass out of immediate use into a fileroom, too often merely a storeroom, where the formal arrangement is sufficient to answer calls for occasional

reference on executive business, but quite inconvenient for that intensive study which the writing of history demands. There are no facilities for the visitor and any call on the regular force of the bureau or division breaks into the routine. In fact, as a rule, no one in the office is familiar with the "dead" records and to turn an inexperienced man into the mass would create confusion, as well as to give opportunity for the interested to mutilate the files to suit his purposes. Such difficulties are natural, but they give rise to a feeling that the bureau discourages visits and inquiries. Under General Ainsworth, Adjutant General, this was carried so far that he closed the records of his office to all outside search, making them purely official records, to be used only by his office and under his direction. The attitude was arbitrary and defensible only for official reasons.

The next and necessary development is Public Record Offices, not only in Washington, but in the capital of each state, into which will be placed such records as are not required in the daily calls of the departments. With the experience of foreign governments before us, it is surprising that such offices had not been formed long since. In some of the states a beginning has been made, but the system is as yet imperfect and, so far as the national Government is concerned, has not yet reached the building stage. The Public Record Office in London and the Archives in Paris are examples of what can be done to relieve the departments of their unused records, to provide storage and care for them under conditions most needed for their safety, arrangement, and preservation, and to give every facility to the student, with the added advantage of the presence of experts whose profession it is to deal with these papers, and whose advice is freely given on the asking.

The last point is important. Few American institutions maintain a separate division of manuscripts, except in name,

and nowhere can a course of instruction be found intended to bring out the qualities specially called for in the management of such a division. Mere red-tape is not enough; there should be added the instinct of collecting, the capacity of study, and the patience and generosity to share with others the toil and pleasure of discovery and dissemination. As the Library of Congress has trained cataloguers, so it may train "keepers of manuscripts," for the size of its treasures favors such training. It may thus provide a force ready for the opening of a National Record Office under properly experienced keepers and under rules which will meet the full requirements of the ever increasing band of research workers.

THE MEDICAL LIBRARY IN RELATION TO THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

BY FIELDING H. GARRISON

OF medicine, the great English physician Sydenham said that its origins are "mysterious as the sources of the Nile. There has never been a time when it was not." From the immense array of data acquired by excavation, by legitimate deductions from the findings of comparative philology, by the science of the Egyptian, Assyro-Babylonian, and Cretan cultures, and by field study of the actual *primitif* in Asia, Africa, Australia, Oceania, and the Americas, we are now in a position to reconstruct a fairly accurate picture of the life history and *res gestae* of prehistoric man; but of the kind of medicine which became his natural possession, our knowledge is, and probably must forever remain, conjectural. From casts of the surface of his brain, made from prehistoric skulls, we know that he started as a brain-stem animal, under the painful necessity of developing his frontal lobes at the expense of the portion (not included in the cerebrum or cerebellum) which governs the natural instincts. In this warfare between natural instincts and the gropings of incipient mentality, he became more and more babyfied by comparison with his four-footed fellows, just as the *primitif* enjoys certain advantages over the *civilisé,* embalmed in Lowell's lines—

> A natural man, with all his instincts fresh,
> Not buzzing helpless in reflection's mesh.

The reactions of prehistoric man to injury and disease were, therefore, more panicky than those of the lower animals; his diseases were mainly those affections of the joints and teeth which paleontologists find in the skeletal remains

of all prehistoric creatures and his medicine was primarily bugaboo medicine, an ascription of pathological processes to devils and demons. In Assyro-Babylonian medicine, a demon for every disease is a rude equivalent for the bacterial theory of infection. From Babylonian baked bricks, there have gradually been assembled a primer of clinical medicine, an herbal of medicinal plants, lists of insects injurious to man, and pediatric epistles; while the evidence of the Smith Papyrus (Breasted) would indicate that Egyptian surgery actually improves in quality as we go backward in time. That there may have been archival or private collections of cuneiform or papyric medicine is quite within the range of probability. Indeed, the Ebers and Smith papyri bear a strong family likeness to those great compends of medical lore (*summa medicinalia*) which began with the Greeks and the Romans and were the essential vehicles of clinical medicine and surgery in the Middle Ages. The Hippocratic Corpus, Jones infers, is the remains of the medical library of the School of Cos. According to Athenaeus, Aristotle, who was an Asclepiad, bequeathed his private medical library to his pupil, the botanist-physician Theophrastus, after whose death, it eventually fell into the hands of Ptolemy Philadelphus. According to Strabo, Aristotle was the first person to collect a library and from him came perhaps the incentive to the gathering of the great Alexandrian collections, notably the Serapeum and Brucheum. According to Pliny and Ovid, the first public library in Rome, apart from the fine private collections of Cicero, Terence, Lucullus, and Atticus, was erected by Asinius Pollo.

Following the Octavian (33 B.C.), established by Augustus Caesar, and the Palatine, there were some twenty-eight public libraries in Rome by the fourth century A.D., and about the same number in the provinces. The compiling, codifying habit of Rome was continued in the great medical encyclo-

pedias of the physicians of the Eastern Empire, but the Byzantine libraries were mainly ecclesiastical. Arabic medical literature is again largely a matter of ponderous tomes, the medical summaries of the Middle Ages, which became enormously popular, since it was more handy and less expensive for a practicing physician to have all medicine codified and copied in a big book than to pay for a number of smaller books, had they been available. For a long time after the invention of printing, there was keen competition between the copying business, organized at Paris and Bologna, and the printing business of Germany and Italy, but eventually the manuscripts were nearly twice as expensive as the printed volumes. Of medical manuscripts and printed volumes owned by medieval physicians, many inventories have been exhumed and eventually such collections became attached to monasteries, universities, and hospitals, notably St. Bartholomew's (1422), Vienna (1440), Cambridge (1444), the Royal College of Physicians (1525), the Laurentian at Florence (1571), or the row of medical books bequeathed to Magdalen College (Oxford) by Nicholas Gibbard in 1593 and acquired after his death in 1608. The collection of the Italian clinician Lancisi became the Biblioteca Lancisiana at Rome (1711). The Radcliffe Library was bequeathed to Oxford by Queen Anne's physician, John Radcliffe, in 1714, and completed in 1747; the Library of the British Museum came originally from the estate of the physician Sir Hans Sloane (1753), and the Library of Pennsylvania Hospital was founded by Benjamin Franklin (1760). The great Library of the Paris Medical Faculty numbered only thirty-two books up to 1733, when it acquired 2,273 volumes bequeathed by François Picoté de Bélestre. William Hunter's fine collection of seven thousand volumes went to the University of Glasgow in 1803 and that of Matthew Baillie to the Royal College of Physicians (1823). The Library of the Imperial Military

Medical Academy of St. Petersburg (1808), formed by the fusion of two medical schools of 1733, was for a long time, next to the Library of the Paris Medical Faculty (1733), the second largest medical collection in the world. The Library of the Surgeon General's Office, originally a mere wall-side collection of medical books in Surgeon General Lovell's room (1836), and slightly increased by Hammond, was built up by Billings, primarily from a slush fund of $80,000, latterly by Congressional appropriations, and now numbers over 842,395 volumes and pamphlets, 7,618 portraits of physicians, 797 medical engravings and prints, 444 medical caricatures, and 512 incunabula. In actual number of medical items and through its unique collection of medical periodicals and its *Index Catalogue* (45 vols., 1880-1928), it is thus the largest and most important medical library in the world.[1]

Medical libraries, then, like medical schools, developed mainly and primarily around universities and hospitals, and two of the largest collections, those of Washington and Leningrad, around military establishments. The development and growth of medical libraries as independent civic

1. The Library of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia (founded 1788) possesses 154,293 volumes, 163,064 pamphlets, 431 MSS., and 376 incunabula; that of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Baltimore, 50,000 volumes; that of the Medical Society of Kings County, Brooklyn (1844), 103,500 volumes and pamphlets; that of the New York Academy of Medicine (1846), 149,950 volumes, 112,245 pamphlets and 1,570 files of periodicals, now housed in a handsome new building. The Boston Medical Library founded as a library association on August 20, 1875, with Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes as president, and James R. Chadwick as librarian, has 145,988 volumes, 96,623 pamphlets, and 173 incunabula. Of recent medical libraries in the United States, the following have over 25,000 volumes, viz., John Crerar, Chicago (1906), 88,000; Lane Medical Library, San Francisco (1895), 65,000; Columbia University, New York (1900), 46,366; University of Vermont (1823), 41,917; Washington University, St. Louis (1910), 38,200; Cleveland Medical Library Association (1894), 38,000; Cincinnati General Hospital (1870), 36,120; Quine Medical Library (1896), 32,825; University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (1765), 32,190; Rush Medical College, Chicago (1899), 29,560; University of Minnesota, Minneapolis (1892), 30,000; Rhode Island Medical Society, Providence (1879), 28,500; University of Nebraska, Omaha (1903), 28,000; St. Louis Medical Society (1899), 25,000.

units in important medical centers is of comparatively recent date and mainly American. Several of the finest medical libraries of Europe, notably those in the libraries of the British Museum, the Universities of Leipzig and Vienna, or in the Laurentian at Venice, are buried in general collections. The fact that physicians of these cities do not commonly consult these collections was Billings' principal argument for the organization and maintenance of individual medical libraries, of which there are now over two hundred in the United States alone. This remarkable development is due mainly to the growing interest of the American people in medicine, in other words, in health as the main factor in efficiency and prosperity; to the large number of physicians, medical societies, and medical periodicals in a country of such extent; and latterly to the vast improvements effected in ways and means of medical education. As modern physicians are very busy people, it is obvious that the medical librarian must meet the doctor more than halfway in the matter of making bibliographical lists and in selecting suitable literature for him. In the case of the medical student, this need is even more pronounced, since his knowledge of medical literature is virtually *nil*. Since the war, the literature of recent medicine has increased twofold and it is said that no specialist can find time to read everything that is published on his subject alone. It is plain, then, that capacity for selecting worth-while material, a very real knowledge of the best literature, some historical *flair* as to the literature of the past, an intensive study of medical periodicals, intelligence in the matter of selecting references with regard to individual needs, are among the main requisites of efficiency in a medical librarian. As long as a medical collection is not buried (by cataloguing) in a general collection, it does not matter in the least whether it exists apart, as an individual unit, or is attached to a general university collection. In either, the main details of ad-

ministration—selection, purchase, accessioning and issue, cataloguing, shelf-listing and subject-indexing, reference and research work, periodicals, binding and duplicates, finance and appointments, janitor and char-service—are about the same. It is doubtful if the general university librarian, who must take all knowledge for his province, could afford the time to study the complex subdivisions of medicine and its fundamental disciplines (anatomy, physiology, pathology), surgery and the specialties, hygiene and the related biological subjects (comparative anatomy, embryology and morphology, botany, general physiology). The study of medical periodicals alone is now a little science in itself. But the example of the Library of the University of Michigan (Ann Arbor) and of many similar institutions in the United States goes to show that the general university library and the medical library, the university librarian and his medical librarian, can exist and function side by side without friction and with mutual benefit. In the case of the individual medical library of a community, the chief will find himself continually in need of coöperation with his colleagues of the municipal or university library and *vice versa*. At the start, a medical library in a town of moderate size is apt to be of small dimensions and the librarian, as the sole person on the premises, must assume for the nonce, like the managers of small theaters and apartment houses, the functions of director, order clerk, accession clerk, issue clerk, cataloguer, classifier, bibliographer, reference clerk, research worker, shelf lister, periodical clerk, searcher, bookkeeper, binder, and janitor. His initial difficulty will be to maintain a clear distinction between shelf-classification (tactical arrangement of books on the shelves) and subject-classification of medical literature for reference purposes and needs of readers. Here he will find the university or municipal librarian, out of his large experience, a worth-while mentor as to ways and means,

technical wrinkles and labor-saving devices, as well as in experience in the selection of efficient personnel and as a possible friendly lender of items not in the medical collection. As the library grows and takes on section-wide or state-wide service, this relation will be further cemented and liaison established with other medical libraries. The ideal for the university librarian and the medical librarian will be one and the same.

A good example of what can be done for the medical profession by the general librarian is afforded in the "Iowa Idea." For some years, there had accumulated in the Iowa State Historical Building at Des Moines a number of small medical libraries acquired from defunct medical schools and the estates of deceased physicians. The status of this collection was that of the nether regions in the Assyro-Babylonian epic: "Over the door dust is scattered, over the door and bolt." The State Librarian and a few physicians were desirous of making those collections available for the medical profession of Iowa, but no administrative machinery existed to carry out this idea. The Iowa Medical Library Service was therefore inaugurated in 1921 to execute the plan of carrying medical literature to the medical public. This was done by appointment of a medical librarian, who put the collection in working order, listed its more important items and acquisitions, sent these annually to the physicians of the state, with the offer of two weeks' loans, renewable upon application, and at no more expense to the borrower than the cost of transportation both ways. Public interest was stimulated through the open columns of the newspapers and the state medical journals and by exhibits at county fairs and state medical societies. The result was a circulating medical library, with state-wide loan and bibliographical service which mounted from 2,587 loans in 1922-23 to 10,778 in 1926-27. Miss Frances B. van Zandt, then librarian, has since put the same plan into execution in

the Medical Library of the University of Wisconsin (Madison), where there is now an efficient, state-wide lending service.

At the University of Minnesota, the medical books were shelved in the offices of the head professors of the several disciplines and specialties, with no centric collection or organization whatever. A small general collection of medical books and periodicals, with loan and bibliographic services, was started in 1906. This was so successful that the heads of the different departments requested that their individual collections be incorporated in the general medical library, with the exception of anatomy and physiology, which went into the biological collections. By 1920, the dissociated units were all incorporated in either the medical or the biological collections. This problem of centralization vs. decentralization confronts the new Welch Medical Library of the Johns Hopkins University. The probable solution is: small wall-side collections of essential reference books in the different laboratories, institutes, and hospital units, with consolidation of the rest of the material in the general collection, as in the general library of the University proper. This library, like that of Ann Arbor, will function exclusively for the benefit of the faculty and students of the Johns Hopkins Hospital and Medical School, while the Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland will look after the needs of the Baltimore profession as ordinarily. In each large and going university, then, it is apparent that the individual medical library must be an offshoot of and adjunct to the university library. In each large city, the municipal medical library relieves the local public library of the necessity of making anything more than a small reference collection of medical books and periodicals, as in Washington, Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Chicago, and San Francisco. When Billings took charge of the New York Public Library, he quickly

decided that the gathering of medical collections of size should be left to the Library of the New York Academy of Medicine. The essence of the situation has been well stated by one of his *protégés* and administrative successors, Mr. Harry M. Lydenburg:

> If the medical special library is developed or can be developed, the public library may well stand aside. If, however, there is no special medical collection nor any in immediate prospect, then it is the emphatic duty and privilege of the public library to do all it can to help the medical community collect and administer a special library. The opportunity beckons loud here to demonstrate how necessary is the coöperation between the general library and the special collection. Whether united or separated administratively is a matter of adjustment to local conditions. That they should work together intimately, gladly, consistently is so obvious as not to need voicing. How successfully this is accomplished will depend, as in many other phases of human effort, very largely on the personalities of the men in charge of the two institutions or the men speaking for the general public and the medical fraternity.

This trait of coöperation in public service is illustrated in the Surgeon General's Library, which maintains liaison with the Library of Congress and the American Medical Association with reference to important activities, even as the War College maintains liaison with the captains of industry of the country with reference to the possibility of mobilizing national resources in time of war. The service of the Surgeon General's Library is now nation-wide; that of the Boston, and other larger city medical libraries is state-wide. A further step forward, Mr. Putnam's plan of the public library as an *universitas litterarum,* a cultural seed plant which teaches without the formality of didactic lecturing, will realize an ideal of Osler's:

> A collection of books, is as Carlyle says, a university and a custodian of books is necessarily a teacher. Post-graduate education is largely in the hands of libraries. . . . Deeply versed in books, the student may

become a shallow-pated pedant unless there has been that testing of the facts of life that comes only to those who delight in the sons of men. How true it is that instruction may be the least part of education and the ideal of the college must ever be the Academy and the Lyceum, where the masters and the pupils form happy bands in which all are teachers and all are taught.

A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY, HARTFORD

BY GEORGE SEYMOUR GODARD

THE Connecticut State Library, like practically all the state libraries of the older states, had its foundation in the miscellaneous collection of books and other material which had gradually accumulated in the offices of the several state officials from the beginning. These volumes consisted principally of books purchased to meet temporary official necessities, or which had been presented by sister states, foreign governments, or individuals. Until they had been gathered together, arranged, and some one official made responsible for their completeness and safety, they were of very little service to the public.

In May, 1854, the General Assembly provided for the appointment of such a State Librarian and the miscellaneous collection of books belonging to the state, which had been thus accumulated in the office of the Secretary of State, was placed in the custody of this new official. During the seventy-six years which have elapsed since 1854, Connecticut has had but three State Librarians; viz., Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull, who served one year, when he resigned to go to Europe; Dr. Charles J. Hoadly, who served from September, 1855, until his death, October, 1900, a period of forty-five years; and the present State Librarian, George Seymour Godard, who came to the State Library August 1, 1898, as assistant, and who was appointed State Librarian November 28, 1900, a period of thirty years on July 31, 1928.

From its rooms in the historic State House on Main Street, now the old City Hall, recently so beautifully restored, the

library was moved to larger and more convenient quarters in the new Capitol in 1878, where it remained until the completion of its new home in our State Library and Supreme Court Building, to which it transferred its activities November 28, 1910, my tenth anniversary.

The Connecticut State Library is especially fortunate, being central in its location, housed in a building substantially built, beautiful in its architecture, convenient in its arrangement, harmonious in its decorations, and homelike. It is, to paraphrase the words of another, a library by the people, of the people, and for the people.

From time to time as required, new departments have been added and the scope of its activities has been increased. With the other libraries in Hartford it forms a university system.

To the judge and attorney the Connecticut State Library is the Law Library of the state, commendably complete in its several lines, including Australian, Canadian, European, Indian, and South African laws, reports, and periodicals in English.

To the legislator and man of public affairs it is a Legislative Reference Library, in which he can, at his own convenience and in his own way, study easily, intelligently, and fully, not only the trend of legislation both at home and abroad and learn something of the reasons for and against the several movements, but he can also ascertain there the contents and daily status of each bill in his own legislature.

To the town clerk and judge of probate the Connecticut State Library is a possible, convenient, desirable, and safe depository for records, files, and papers not in current use. This Department of Public Records as used and enlarged by the public officials of our state, counties, towns, churches, schools, and other official districts within its borders has become one of the most important and accessible collections in our State Library.

Through our Examiner of Public Records, the Connecticut State Library is a source of intelligent assistance, which is theirs for the asking, in matters pertaining to paper, ink, typewriter ribbons, binding, repairing, indexing, and caring for those records and files which must be retained in their several offices, and to safes and vaults in which to protect them.

To the state officer and commissioner our State Library is the place where he can find at any time the reports of his own department and similar departments in other states, and a place where he can deposit any special reports, records, or other material which may come to him, or which he may care to have in a place of safety, and at all reasonable times have accessible to him and to those who have a right to use them.

To the selectman and town treasurer our State Library is the place where they are confident they can find a commendably complete file of the financial reports of their own towns and neighboring towns which are so often lacking at home.

To the World War Veterans our State Library is the Department of War Records established by the Connecticut General Assembly in 1919, to collect, classify, index, and instal all available material relating to Connecticut's participation, public or private, in the World War. Here the records of the activities and services of individuals, in their own words, and of organizations, cities, towns, counties, and the state, officially—overseas and at home—all on uniform blanks, are being assembled for the benefit of our children and their children.

To the civilian war worker our State Library is the depository of the records and files of the Connecticut Draft Executive, the State Council of Defense, the State Agricultural, Industrial, and Military censuses, and the reports and returns

of war activities from the several cities and towns, and the many organizations interested in war work throughout the state.

To the members of the Military Order of Foreign Wars, and of the First Company Governor's Foot Guard and First Company Governor's Horse Guard, "Company K," City Guard, the Daughters of 1812, and other similar organizations and societies our State Library is the permanent home of the historical collections assembled by their members and friends.

To the civil engineer and surveyor our State Library is not only a source of supply of topographical maps of the state as it is today, but the depository of the official copy of the drawings and specifications for all dams and waterways approved by the State Board of Civil Engineers, and the repository of records showing the layout of many counties, towns, school districts, ecclesiastical societies, highways, etc., as they now are or used to be.

To the members of the Connecticut Geological and Natural History Survey and those interested along these lines, our State Library is the distributing and exchange agency for the several publications of the Commission.

To the minister of our older churches our State Library is a mine of wealth concerning many things which relate to the information, life, and activities of the several churches in Connecticut in the days of our fathers.

To the genealogist and descendants of Colonial and Revolutionary ancestry our large collection of official records consisting of muster rolls, pay rolls, lists, receipts, probate files and court records and files, and miscellaneous manuscripts, made available by minute indexes, the Barbour Collection of Connecticut Vital Records—the names in each town arranged alphabetically—supplemented by our collection of genealogies and local histories, is the one department thought of.

To the members of the Connecticut Society of Colonial Dames the Connecticut State Library is the home of that unique collection of manuscript histories relating to the early homes of our fathers in Connecticut which is being compiled by this society under the direction of a special committee.

The student of political economy and government is attracted by our large collection of public documents of our own state, the sister states, the United States, and the Dominions of Canada, Australia, and their several provinces, arranged in long series, easily accessible.

The inventor and prospective patentee thinks only of our long sets of patent reports and certified copies of specifications and drawings of patents, always at his service.

The pupils of our public schools think of the State Library as the home of the Old Charter—of Charter Oak fame—the Stuart portrait of Washington, the Riley portrait of Charles II, the portraits of our several governors, and the place where they can see the table on which President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, the Silver Service from the battleship *Connecticut,* and so many other things of interest to them connected with the history of our own state and the general Government.

The numismatist has formed his idea of our State Library through that remarkable collection of coins, currency, medals, tokens, and associated books, recently presented to the state by one of her sons, the late Joseph C. Mitchelson of Tariffville, Connecticut, and Kansas City, Missouri.

To the tourist and professional traveler the Connecticut State Library is simply a beautiful, new building, which, having been planned from the inside out as well as from the outside in, and having been built upon honor and for time, is acknowledged to be a model of its kind.

To the several state libraries of our own country and governmental libraries of Europe, the Connecticut State Li-

brary is looked upon as the exchange medium with the State of Connecticut, through which they receive promptly the official publications of the state, and in which may be found the several official publications sent in return.

To the sons and daughters of Connecticut, who have inherited or accumulated manuscripts and records which they have held almost sacred, the Connecticut State Library is regarded as a most fitting depository for these private collections of official and semi-official papers, which have to do with the early life and activities of the state and its several families.

To the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society the Connecticut State Library is the new home of the Trumbull Papers closely identified with the early history of the colony and state of Connecticut, voluntarily returned by the society, September 17, 1921, after having had them one hundred and twenty-six years: thus marking a new epoch in the care and custody of official records, and recognizing the provisions Connecticut has made for the care and use of such records.

To the librarian and his staff the Connecticut State Library is a group of departments, housed in a model building, with interested and competent assistants, whose aim and purpose is to serve intelligently, promptly, and courteously, not only the inquirers of our own generation, but, so far as possible, also, those who are to follow.

The preceding, I imagine, are some of the ideas which have become clustered about the name of the "Connecticut State Library," and may we not say that all of them are right, simply looking at the Connecticut State Library from their own point of view, and thinking along the lines in which they are specially interested.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS AND ITS NEW CATALOGUE

SOME UNWRITTEN HISTORY

BY J. C. M. HANSON

BY catalogue is here meant not only the alphabetic catalogue, author, subject, title in one alphabet (dictionary catalogue), but also the systematic catalogue (*Real Katalog*), based on the classification system adopted and begun in 1897, and intended to serve as shelf list and supplement to the dictionary catalogue. It is the origins of this new system, particularly from 1897 on, that we shall consider.

The Library of Congress had constructed many catalogues prior to 1897. In the period 1802 to 1869, not fewer than fifty-seven had been printed. In 1869, a year of much activity, the great subject catalogue was printed in two volumes, one of the best illustrations of the alphabetico-classed catalogue now before us; so also a catalogue of law books and the sections Political Economy and Science of Government taken bodily from the subject catalogue and printed in separate form, presumably for the convenience of Congress and the Departments. From 1870 to 1876 there appeared five volumes of additions, the one covering 1873 to 1875 containing a useful subject index. In 1878 the printing of the great author catalogue was begun, but unfortunately only letters A to C and part of D were completed, another torso, therefore, similar to the letter A of the British Museum catalogue of 1841. This ended efforts to supply a general catalogue in book form. It is doubtful if the experiment will ever be repeated.

An author catalogue on cards, $17\frac{7}{10} \times 11\frac{2}{5}$ cm., entries in part clipped from the printed catalogues already mentioned,

was maintained from 1881 on. The writer had an opportunity to study this catalogue on the ground from 1897 to 1910. It was evident that it included some excellent bibliographical work. Men like William H. Roberts, Francis Vinton, Theodore Gill, David Hutcheson, Thorvald Solberg, Severence, and others had contributed to its development, especially during the earlier years. Radical variations from the catalogues of other American libraries, notably in size of card, also absence of definite rules, and in the more recent years lack of adequate supervision had, however, led to serious discrepancies which must in the end prove fatal to its consideration as a basis for national agreement.

For classification of books on the shelves, there was a broad division into forty-four chapters, a slight expansion of the scheme applied by Thomas Jefferson to his private library at Monticello prior to 1815, inelastic, partly fixed location, without shelf-list records or book numbers, and quite unsuitable for a large and rapidly growing collection of books.

This then was the situation when in 1897 the books constituting the Library of Congress were moved from the Capitol to the new building. In preparation for the opening of the new library, a most meager and inadequate budget had been submitted by the librarian and approved by Congress. The positions and salaries listed had been given the widest publicity, and although there were comparatively few positions at $1,800 a year or more, there swooped down on Congress, the President, and the library, an eager horde of would-be librarians. There were needy journalists, clergymen without a call, teachers unable to teach, unsuccessful authors, actors without engagements, college and university graduates whose mental development must have been arrested soon after graduation, and the usual assortment of lame ducks from states east and west. All were brimful of confidence that their great love of books and literary inclinations would en-

able them to solve all difficulties which might arise in connection with the management of a great library. The recording of incunabula and manuscripts, selection and purchase of books, administration of the copyright law, service to Congress and Departments, to scholars of our own and other nations, compilation and application of classification and cataloguing systems, and the many and varied activities which it was hoped might make the new Library of Congress a national library in the real sense of the word, a center of library coöperation and research, were all matters of little or no concern to these new aspirants to membership in the library profession.

McKinley was then President, a kindly, well-meaning man, the type of political leader of which Ohio has produced many, loyal to his party and its interests, but not especially conversant with the needs or importance of libraries in general or the Library of Congress in particular. He appointed a friend, a journalist, as chief librarian. The latter, lacking all experience, had, however, the good sense to realize the importance of a cabinet of heads of departments, made up, at any rate in part, of men with professional training. Accordingly, Mr. Spofford, chief librarian since 1864, was appointed assistant librarian, Mr. David Hutcheson, reference librarian since 1877, head of the Readers Department, Thorvald Solberg, previously connected with the library, and a leading authority on copyright law, as Register of Copyrights. In these appointments, as well as that of the chief librarian, the East and the South had been duly recognized. But what of the Great West? The principle of geographical distribution of appointments must be upheld, regardless of consequences. *"Fiat justitia pereat mundus."* There remained to be filled the position of chief of the Catalogue Division. There were a dozen men and women in the East well qualified for the place, but he must needs be selected from the West, a region

then more barren of competent cataloguers than is Arizona or Nevada today.

The librarian had been advised that in the Newberry Library at Chicago there was a man who had invented a remarkable device for holding catalogue entries. He was approached, but made conditions not acceptable to the administration, which thereupon turned to the neighboring state of Wisconsin, and on the advice curiously enough of a Democrat, Andrew D. White, appointed the undersigned as head of the Catalogue Division.

The situation found by the writer on taking charge September 1, 1897, was not particularly encouraging. There were between 750,000 and 800,000 volumes in sore need of recataloguing and reclassification, great quantities of new books pouring in, no shelf list or official catalogue, no furniture or equipment, and a force consisting of three holdovers from the old *régime,* respectively fifty, sixty-eight, and seventy-six years old, wedded to the old system and wholly out of touch with recent library development. Moreover, ordering and binding were considered part of the duties of the Catalogue Division, eleven positions out of the seventeen provided were still to be filled, and the Division had been assigned to a long, narrow room seventy yards distant from the card catalogue stored in cramped and poorly lighted trays inside the circular desk at the center of the reading room.

As stated, there were eleven vacancies still to be filled. Examination of records in the Chief Clerk's office and letters received in the Division showed that there were many excellent applications on file. Among these were found three from former colleagues of the chief, known to him as exceptionally strong and reliable classifiers and cataloguers. If appointed, they would help in establishing that nucleus around which a force must soon be developed if the problems confronting the Division were to be handled in a satisfactory

manner. Recommendations were accordingly submitted, but were returned with the rather curt note that in the appointment of heads of departments, merit and experience had been given due consideration; from now on it would be the duty of the librarian to give heed to the wishes of Congress. As a result, three of the better-paid positions were soon filled by men without any trace of experience and past the age when new knowledge is readily assimilated. In order to keep the new appointees out of mischief it was decided to intrust them with the cutting and mounting on cards of the British Museum accessions; and it must be said to their credit that they took a keen interest and pride in their work, the results of which they exhibited from time to time to their friends from the Capitol, who were no doubt much impressed.

Efforts to make clear to the authorities that the remaining vacancies must be filled only by persons with proper qualifications were redoubled. Partly for this reason and also because a few trained applicants were discovered with proper senatorial backing, six assistants with previous experience were finally obtained. Among them were the present chief of the Catalogue Division and one of his senior revisors, also the late Mr. St. Stefansson, one of the strongest assistants ever connected with the Division.

On comparing notes with the Superintendent of the Reading Room and the Register of Copyrights, it was found that they had if anything been even less successful in securing the appointment of applicants of their own choice, and the outlook as the year 1898 opened was, therefore, far from encouraging.

An order had been issued toward the end of December, 1897, that the entire accumulation of uncatalogued and unbound government documents and society publications received in exchange from foreign countries over a period of more than thirty years and previously stored in the basements

of the Capitol, must be on the shelves and fully catalogued by March, 1898. It was an impossible task, but remonstrance was futile, and there was no choice but to go ahead. Attempts were first made to utilize the aforementioned political appointees, especially one who claimed to have some knowledge of foreign languages. It was soon found that this knowledge did not suffice to decipher titles, and the writer and his chief assistant, the present head of the Division, were accordingly obliged to devote the hours from 7.00 P.M. until one or two in the morning, Sundays and holidays included, to the sorting. By March, the collection was arranged on shelves by countries, departments, and sets, and though little actual cataloguing had been accomplished, some extremely valuable books had been unearthed, and the collection was ready for further and more detailed treatment.

It may be of interest to note that at this time certain members of Congress were clearly beginning to appreciate the situation and were actually urging the importance of appointing only applicants with proper training. Similarly, there were instances where persons to whom positions had been offered, on discovering that they lacked the essential qualifications required refused acceptance and reported their refusal to the President.

While this in itself furnished ground for encouragement, conditions under which the new system of cataloguing and classification had to be planned and put into operation left much to be desired. There were no printed or written rules, no definite verbal instructions or traditions to govern the compilation of the author catalogue, little consistency being found, e.g., as between entry under family name and title of nobility, English or Latin form of name for classical writers, maiden or married names for women writers, and so on. Apparently, it would be the part of wisdom to cut loose from the old catalogue altogether, and the sooner the better.

It was, therefore, decided to begin an entirely new catalogue, on standard-size cards, 7½ x 12½ cm., a full dictionary catalogue based on Cutter's *Rules,* third edition, with modifications suggested by the *Library School Rules* of Melvil Dewey, the *A.L.A. Rules,* Linderfeldt's *Eclectic Rules,* and other codes then available. The *A.L.A. List of Subject Headings* was to be followed in so far as it seemed suitable. Experience soon indicated, however, that it was not sufficiently comprehensive for a library of a million volumes, and an independent list must accordingly be started. Mr. Lane's report of 1893 and similar studies were consulted with a view to determining practices favored by a majority of American libraries. Where some general agreement was discernible this naturally influenced decisions. The possible future relations of the Library of Congress to other libraries of America were freely discussed and constantly kept in mind. It was felt that distribution of printed cards might be one of the first of the coöperative activities to assume definite form.

By the spring of 1898 preparations were far enough advanced to warrant a beginning, and on May 1 the Catalogue Division undertook to supply entries for section "Books Proper" in the weekly catalogue issued by the Copyright Office. This constituted the beginning of the new catalogue. It opened the way for the manifolding of entries on printed cards for all books added through operation of the copyright law, about one-fourth of the total accessions, and resulted in the opening of the first card catalogue for the public and, what was of prime importance to the staff, an official catalogue located in the catalogue room. Fifty copies of each entry were printed on standard-size cards of medium weight. Besides a second copy of the dictionary catalogue for the staff, it was decided to prepare also a third copy ultimately to be placed in the Capitol.

In the meantime, there remained three-fourths of the ac-

cessions for which no entries were made except for the old author catalogue. Four cataloguers constituted the staff actively at work. On July 1, 1898, four boys were added to the force, making it possible to copy by typewriter for the official catalogue, all cards prepared for the old author catalogue. This was of importance, as it materially reduced the number of visits to the reading room by members of the cataloguing staff, a most time-consuming operation considering the distance and the awkward location of the last-mentioned catalogue. Printed cards were obtained from the A.L.A. for articles and monographs in certain series of society and government publications. These analytical entries were added to the dictionary catalogue for the public.

What seems to the writer to have been a serious error was the maintenance throughout 1898 and 1899 of the old author catalogue. It was not before January 1, 1900, that opposition to its discontinuance was finally overcome, original manuscript entries after that date being written on standard-size cards and filed in the official catalogue, typed or printed copies being inserted in the catalogue for the public.

Prior to this a decision had been made to catalogue in full —that is, by author, subject, and title—all bibliographies and biographies added to the library, even though some of these books were still being classified according to the Jefferson system. Plans were also carried out for the cutting and mounting on standard-size cards of all entries in the old printed catalogues in book form, previously referred to. In spite of the fact that these entries must be considered temporary and provisional, they, like the analytical entries already mentioned, formed a most extensive and valuable addition to the catalogue for the public. It may be of interest to note that the particular task here referred to was the first assignment given the present chief of the Card Division on his appointment to the staff of the library. The energetic and efficient man-

ner in which he carried out this charge probably had much to do with his selection as head of the Card Division when that was organized a year or two later. What his able and devoted leadership of the Division for the last twenty-nine years has meant for library coöperation in America, few will appreciate who have not been in constant and close touch with its work and development.

As for classification, attention has already been called to the old Jefferson system of forty chapters, expanded to forty-four by Mr. Spofford, without shelf lists or book numbers. The shelves of the old library had been apportioned among the subjects represented in the classification, no extra shelves being left for emergencies. As new subjects turned up, they must be accommodated, therefore, on shelves already occupied by other subjects. For instance, a part of the books on Greek Philology, all the books on Icelandic and Irish Philology were marked chapter 39, shelf 11,025. A number of subjects such as Mechanical Painting, Gilding, Varnishing, Perfumery and Cosmetics, and a part of Photography were marked chapter 15, shelf 9,413. On the adjoining shelf, 9,414, were then found the remainder of the books on Photography and also a part of the works dealing with Textile Industries. The designation "shelf" here stood merely for a number, not for an actual shelf. Years before, the shelving provided in the Capitol had been filled to overflowing, and subjects for which one shelf had once been considered ample, might now fill from fifty to one hundred shelves.

The situation as to classification was fully appreciated by men like Mr. Spofford and Mr. Hutcheson, and little or no opposition was made, therefore, when plans for a new system were submitted. No attempt will be made here to present a detailed explanation of the new classification. It will be sufficient to say that Cutter's *Expansive Classification* was selected as the chief guide, with, however, radical modi-

fications in the notation. For instance, one, or at most two capital letters were to indicate classes, Arabic numerals in integral, not decimal, sequence, with gaps (*Springende Nummer*) for subdivisions, and Cutter numbers for individual books. It was Spofford who insisted on the integral, not a decimal, sequence of numbers. Mr. Spofford was inexorably opposed to the decimal system, *per se,* and his opposition was shared in part by other members of the staff, including the chief of the Catalogue Division, who felt that only by supplying a mixed notation and providing many radical changes would it have been possible for the Library of Congress to consider this system.[1]

The appointment in the autumn of 1897 of Charles Martel, the present chief of the Catalogue Division, to one of the vacancies previously referred to, made it possible to begin operations on actual classification in December, 1897, and he is the one who for the next nineteen or twenty years carried the chief burdens of this exceptionally difficult and important work.

As the purchase of bibliographic works for the library had practically been discontinued in 1878, it was foreseen that there would be heavy accessions to this particular class. For this reason, and also in order to place the bibliographical apparatus in the best possible order for use, it was decided to begin reclassification with chapter 38. This class was completed in the course of 1898, with full shelf list and author and subject index, the latter being added with a view to the printing of a bibliographic handbook of the library, something which has not yet materialized, due perhaps to the fact that the class has grown from about six thousand volumes in 1898 to nearly one hundred and ten thousand in 1928. American history was next in order, but failure to secure additional appropriations and the heavy accessions of the next year put a temporary stop to the reclassification.

1. Later on decimals were introduced and are now freely used.

Copies of reports and letters written at this time and still in the possession of the writer emphasize the fact that while annual accessions were approaching forty thousand volumes a year it was still considered possible to carry the reclassification to a successful conclusion, but that fifteen to twenty years hence difficulties would be immeasurably greater. The postponement might mean, therefore, that the library would be forced to give up its plans for a better classification and content itself with the writing of a shelf list, introduction of book numbers, and certain other improvements amounting to mere makeshifts; and this seemed a great pity in view of the opportunity which now presented itself. While the Library of Congress might never be able to compete with the great national libraries of the Old World in their possession of fifteenth and sixteenth century books, early manuscripts, and similar treasures, it was in a position to profit by the application of the methods and principles of administration so successfully developed during the last quarter century, and in the advancement of which many librarians of America had taken a notable and creditable part.

It was apparent that these representations had little effect, due perhaps in part to the fact that the health of the librarian was failing rapidly, and he had neither the time, strength, nor the keen appreciation of the situation which would have enabled him to go before Congress with a strong plea for additional help and funds. Then came January, 1899, and the sudden death of the chief librarian. Again, there swooped down on the President and Congress a host of aspirants to a position which many of them must have considered one of comparative leisure, a sinecure in which they might pass their declining years amid pleasant and dignified surroundings, holding occasional intercourse with authors living and dead, and meeting statesmen, diplomats, and other distinguished and representative people from various parts of the country

and the world. It was not difficult for one on the inside to see what the appointment of one of these applicants would mean. The experiences of the last two years had made this clear. The American Library Association did not appear to sense the importance of immediate action, or was not in a position to take the initiative. Men in Congress, e.g., Speaker Thomas Reed, Senator Platt of Connecticut, Representative Hitt of Illinois, and others, felt that something should be done, but they were busy men and perhaps not clear in their own minds as to the best course to be taken.[2]

David Hutcheson, head of the reading room, had served members of Congress long and well. Several leading Senators came to him asking permission to submit his name to the President. He insisted that a younger man, a leading administrator, must now be selected as chief librarian. The writer knows that his friend and former colleague, Mr. Solberg, still active as Register of Copyrights, is preparing his autobiography and expects in that work to take up in some detail what actually transpired at the time. It was his courage and initiative that led to action being taken which finally aroused the leaders of the American Library Association, and no one is in a better position than he to present the facts. Only a general statement will, therefore, be given here.

Before the writer is a copy of a letter written in February, 1899, to his old friend and teacher, Charles Kendall Adams, President of the University of Wisconsin, which is fairly representative of the many letters and telegrams sent at the time to men in various parts of the country who might be expected

2. Others approached seemed quite unable to get the librarian's point of view. An example was one of the senators from Minnesota whom the writer tried to influence in favor of the appointment of one of the foremost librarians of the day. After a long argument in his office the Senator said that while he conceded that there was some weight in the arguments advanced, he still failed to see why Mr. X, naming a prominent novelist and journalist and good friend of the Senator, should not make an excellent Librarian of Congress.

to appreciate the situation and exercise influence toward a right solution. In part, the letter reads as follows:

The Library of Congress is at present in so critical a situation that I feel free to address you briefly on the subject, hoping that some action may suggest itself which shall assist in a solution. The death of the late Librarian has apparently been the signal for a host of applicants to come forward, each bringing what influence he may have at his command to bear on the President.

Among the names so far mentioned, not one with real library experience has appeared. The newspapers, at least the majority of those which have come to my notice, state that the late administration has proven that executive ability is the one prime requisite in the administrative head of a large library, knowledge of the work being entirely of secondary consideration.

With all respect to the late Librarian, we who have been on the ground know best that if the organization of the library is to continue along the proper lines the man at the head must . . . have sufficient experience to be able to judge of the relative importance of the various departments of work, and see to it that the necessary means and force are obtained, distributed and applied in a proper manner.

That a man can be found among those librarians who have been the moving spirits in the organization and subsequent administration of several of the largest libraries of the country during the last ten to fifteen years, a man on whom not only librarians, but all scholars and educators who have the future welfare of the national library at heart might unite, about this there can be no doubt.

The point of vital importance now is to secure delay in the making of the appointment long enough to enable men of influence and weight to lay before the President the importance to the Library, to scholars and writers, both at home and abroad, that the man now selected be qualified by experience, executive ability, and intellectual acquirements.

It is not using too strong a statement to say that the possibilities of the Library of Congress as a library for research depends on the present appointment. Its contents are now estimated at one million volumes and pamphlets with an annual increase of over 31,000. Making this collection available through catalogues and classification, and laying a foundation for future growth, present problems which under favorable conditions may still be solved, that is, provided the work is

now organized along proper lines. In ten or fifteen years from now, it is to be feared that the accumulation of books will be so great that make-shifts in their administration, such as were forced on the Bibliothèque Nationale about the middle of the present century, under circumstances not unlike those now prevailing here, may have to be resorted to. . . .

Among the librarians who finally rallied to the aid of the library, perhaps no one stood out more prominently than Richard R. Bowker. He was not only a bibliographer and librarian, but a business executive, an author, a journalist, and a man of affairs, who knew just what to do under the circumstances and how to do it. No better man could have been secured to sponsor the cause of the library and librarians at the Executive Mansion than he. With William C. Lane, President of the A.L.A., and other members of its Executive Board, he went to Washington and secured action which has had a far-reaching effect on education and librarianship in America. These men should be remembered and honored by all librarians for their unselfish and energetic efforts at this critical time, so also the one who is perhaps more deserving of honor in this connection than anyone else, the man who at great personal sacrifice agreed to have his name submitted to the President as a possible candidate for the position of Librarian of Congress. Only a name such as his could have carried the weight necessary to change action already taken. The effect of his appointment became noticeable at once. Congress gave immediate heed to his recommendations. It may be sufficient to mention here that these recommendations involved an addition to the Catalogue Division alone of no less than seventy-six positions in three years, the establishment of the Card Division and funds for printing of all catalogue cards, classification schedules, and other publications having direct bearing on the preparation of the catalogue.

Some of our European colleagues may still view with a

certain skepticism the work accomplished during the thirty years of the present administration. Its effect on more than five thousand libraries of America and not a few institutions abroad cannot, however, be ignored. It is believed that as librarians from other countries have opportunity to test the new cataloguing system of the Library of Congress, to examine entries and classification schedules, comparing them with other systems now before the public, they will be more and more disposed to give credit for what has been accomplished under difficult and trying conditions. Here, as elsewhere, limitations of time, means, and force have occasionally hampered progress and forced the adoption of expedients and temporary makeshifts which it is hoped may in time be replaced and improved upon.

We who have had the best opportunity to test the new system must concede that there is much difference in the accuracy, fulness, and reliability of entries which make up the catalogue. Similarly, not all schedules of classification stand up equally well under the searching scrutiny of experts; some of them are open to serious criticism. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that aside from occasional typographical errors due to reprinting for stock, approximately one-third of the entries measure up to the highest form of bibliographical effort, and the remainder compare well with entries ordinarily found in printed or manuscript catalogues here or abroad; that in certain schedules of classification, e.g., P-PA, General Philology and Classical Philology, by Dr. Koenig, just published, the high-water mark has been reached in classification systems now available in printed form.

Some of our European colleagues have criticized the choice of the small or international size of card, so also decisions on entry of anonymous books, collections, series and serials, publications of government offices, societies, and institutions. As regards these decisions it is believed that experiences

of the last twenty-eight to thirty years have proven their soundness. At any rate there have been no demands for radical changes. Much of the criticism is clearly based on failure to recognize the importance of subject and title entry in the American dictionary catalogue, so also the place of the shelf list, often developed into a systematic catalogue, as a supplement to the alphabetical catalogue.

There are a number of points in the Anglo-American rules on which concessions might well be made to the practice of the German and some of the Dutch and Scandinavian libraries. They affect, however, in the main, the rules which govern personal authorship. As for the rules on entry under title and the names of corporate bodies agreed upon by the British and American library associations in 1907, they have not only stood the test of time, but have since been accepted in principle by the library associations of a number of countries in both hemispheres.

The cataloguing system and attendant organization, to the history of which the above statement is intended to contribute, seems now firmly established as an important and integral part of the economy of over four thousand libraries in America, a number which might have been doubled were it not for the fact that thousands of libraries are still administered by persons out of touch with library or bibliographic development and without the knowledge and experience necessary to profit from bibliographic aid such as we are now receiving from Washington.

In the meantime the service rendered by the Catalogue and Card divisions of the Library of Congress shows a steady development and it is our hope that nothing will be permitted to interfere with it. In order that this growth may continue on sound lines there is needed on the one hand a steady accession of new assistants ready and capable to carry on where the older ones, many of whom have borne the burdens of

pioneering for thirty years or more, shall leave off, on the other that Congress and the libraries of the country appreciate the value of the work performed by these faithful servants and continue their support of an enterprise which has accomplished so much for the improvement of library service throughout the nation, and bears in it promises of expansion likely to have an important bearing also on bibliographic coöperation of international scope and character.

REMINISCENCES AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE CARD DISTRIBUTION WORK OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

BY CHARLES HARRIS HASTINGS

THAT the Library of Congress under Dr. Putnam's administration should have undertaken the distribution of printed cards was quite natural. Boston, that hotbed of revolutionary ideas in politics in the eighteenth century, had been since the middle of the nineteenth a hotbed of new ideas as to cataloguing. In 1847 Professor Jewett, librarian of the Boston Public Library, had presented his plan for stereotyped blocks covering individual titles, and in 1853 had established a card catalogue in that library. Harvard University Library had adopted a card catalogue in 1856. The Boston Public Library began to print its cards in 1879, Harvard University Library in 1884. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the American Library Association and the Library Bureau, both primarily Boston organizations, had been discussing and experimenting on a small scale in the production and distribution of printed cards. What could be more natural then, than that the successful and self-reliant librarian of the Boston Public Library, now become Librarian of Congress, should decide that the time had come to try a large-scale experiment in the printing and distribution of catalogue cards. Although some cards had been printed and stored before Dr. Putnam became Librarian of Congress, with the expectation that they would prove useful to the Library of Congress, and possibly other libraries, the plan for a systematic distribution of the cards by the Library of Congress originated with him. In 1900 he arranged for the establishment of a branch of the Government Printing Office at

the Library of Congress, and from January, 1901, cards were printed for current accessions and books recatalogued.

Dr. Putnam realized fully that the library was embarking on a serious enterprise. In his first talk with me preparatory to sending out the first circular, he said that if the project was successful it was likely to affect and possibly hinder the work of recataloguing the library, but that the demand for the work from American libraries and the American Library Association was so urgent that it seemed best to start it then regardless of some resulting disadvantages. In November, 1901, the first circular inviting subscriptions to the cards was sent out. It was accompanied by a memorandum explaining the reasons for and objectives of the project, and a circular letter from the A.L.A. Publishing Board endorsing the distribution of cards by the Library of Congress and terminating its own efforts along that line.

The first circular and the memorandum that accompanied it were written by Dr. Putnam himself, with some suggestions from Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, then Chief of the Catalogue Division. Although written in easy, journalistic style, and devoted largely to theories and generalities rather than details, I have good reasons for believing that it was the result of careful thought and deliberation. Instead of frightening the prospective subscriber away with precise directions and conditions, it read like an invitation to a picnic. The libraries accepted the invitation and orders followed in goodly numbers. When a few days later in some consternation I told Dr. Putnam that the first orders and letters had brought up scores of points not covered by the first circular, he told me that it was never intended to cover such details and suggested that I get out a second circular that would cover them.

No sooner had we filled the first collection of orders than queries, complaints, and suggestions began to pour in. Most of the cards then in stock had been printed, cut, and per-

forated at the main Government Printing Office, where inches (not centimeters) were the standard of measurement and these were oversize. To libraries accustomed to the very accurate cards of the Library Bureau they were quite unsatisfactory. Fortunately, with a branch of the Government Printing Office now in operation in the library, the means of correcting the defective cards were at hand. After a fortnight of rather hectic work the cards were brought to approximately the Library Bureau standard.

The second circular was printed in a hurry to meet the pressing demand for detailed instructions and, although filled with details, soon proved inadequate. Work was started on the first edition of the *Handbook*. Much hard thinking was required for that first edition. It was like writing directions for performing an experiment while the experiment was going on. What was described as the best method one day, would be found impracticable the next. Although I labored hard over the manuscript, the first few proofs were a sight. Mr. T. W. Koch (now librarian of Northwestern University), who gave me valuable help and advice, suggested that I keep it locked up, because there were economy and efficiency experts even in those days, and he feared that a look at that proof might lead to an investigation. Although the *Handbook* was filled with useful facts that every subscriber ought to know, it was not easy to read or entertaining. I remember well Dr. Putnam's remark when I showed him the final product. It was in effect, "It seems to cover the ground, but will the subscribers read it?" Some of them I am sure never did. I once explained to one of them that his library could save a hundred dollars a year if he and his assistants would read the *Handbook*. He replied that he had rather save money some easier way, and I fear he died without ever having read it. Although six editions of the *Handbook* have now been issued, most of them have contained substantial

changes in the regulations for ordering cards, showing that the work has not yet reached a stable equilibrium.

During the first few years the Card Division was engaged in what was, in a sense, a struggle for existence. It was dependent on the Copyright Office, the Accessions Division, the Documents Division, and more directly on the Catalogue Division for the cards which it was to distribute. If it was to continue to function the cards for new publications in English, at least, must be ready at the earliest date practicable. These divisions were in charge of vigorous, strong-minded men who had worked out satisfactory routines for their divisions. Although they were in sympathy with the experiment, it was quite another matter to upset their established routine and they naturally objected.

The orders for cards soon demonstrated that a considerable percentage of books with copyright claims in them were being deposited late or not at all. When the Copyright Office was asked to get them in, it was disposed to take the view that questions as to deposit or non-deposit of copies was the business of the Copyright Office exclusively. In the case of non-copyrighted books in English, most of the subscribers desired cards for the American edition, and moreover did not care to wait the length of time required to secure the English edition, plus the time required to produce the cards. The Card Division strongly urged that the American edition be purchased, whereas the established practice was to purchase the English edition. The Card Division also desired to have non-copyrighted books purchased on the strength of orders received for cards, instead of waiting for them to be ordered for the reading-room service, or on the recommendations of the chiefs of divisions. The Chief of the Accessions Division, Superintendent of the Reading Room, and other officials maintained that the library would be flooded with

popular books and suffer serious financial loss if the change was made.

The cards for copyrighted books thus far printed had been decked out with copyright numbers, dates, and symbols, and the Catalogue Division had added a few symbols of its own. The subscribers objected to such extraneous matter and the Card Division urged that it be taken off.

The struggle over the above-mentioned objectives was severe during the first two years and continued intermittently for several years. The weapons were chiefly memoranda to the librarian, and scores of them were written, some of them quite voluminous. In the end the right always prevailed. Whether it was the absolute right that prevailed or the right hand of Dr. Putnam that affixed "Approved H. P." to my memorandum, thereby ending the discussion, did not matter much to me in those days. I had no time for ethical speculations.

I must hasten to add that once a change had been discussed in this way and decided by Dr. Putnam, the chiefs of these divisions carried it out loyally, and the routines then established have continued to this day. I wish to record here my gratitude to Mr. J. C. M. Hanson, then Chief of the Catalogue Division (now Professor in the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago) for the fair and generous treatment accorded me personally and the able support that he gave the card distribution work in those early years.

When these wars of memoranda had continued a reasonable length of time, Dr. Putnam would call them off by deciding the issue or advising us to get together in conference. The majority of such communications were disposed of very quickly. One on which I had spent days he would glance over, ask a question or two, and approve or disapprove (with request for further action or information from me)

within three minutes. Although he disposed of them rapidly, his decisions proved to be correct and final in nearly every case. Like that other man from Massachusetts, he seemed to have an unerring "instinct for the jugular vein of the argument."

Dr. Putnam early saw the desirability and practicability of bringing the other principal government libraries into the L.C. system for the production and distribution of printed cards, and invited the librarians of these libraries to supply copy to be printed by the Library of Congress, receiving gratis in return the cards needed for their own catalogues. About a dozen of the principal libraries accepted the invitation, and this feature of the work has been kept up and developed as fast as funds would permit, the plan being eventually to cover all the books of importance in the departmental libraries.

Even before the card distribution work had been started, Dr. Putnam had arranged for the exchange of printed cards with the principal libraries that were then using them, viz., the Harvard Library, Boston Public Library, the New York Public Library, and the John Crerar Library. In 1902 a regular system of depositories was started whereby a full set of the L.C. cards was sent to the more important libraries located in centers of educational and literary activity. New depositories have gradually been added to the list until it now includes fifty-three libraries in the United States and eight in foreign countries. The latter have always been of special interest to Dr. Putnam, because, as it seems to me, he has the "world vision" along bibliographical lines.

The cards acquired by exchange with other libraries, and those acquired by printing cards from libraries in the District of Columbia, became the nucleus of the Union Catalogue of the Library of Congress. With the encouragement of Dr. Putnam (sometimes manifesting itself in requests for additional funds from Congress), the Card Division kept this

catalogue approximately to date until the Rockefeller fund for developing it was obtained.

Any project for coöperation between the Library of Congress and the American Library Association, American libraries individually, or the publishers of helps for libraries has always been certain of receiving sympathetic and careful consideration from Dr. Putnam, and the Card Division has ordinarily been the direct agent of such coöperation. This cooperative work has expressed itself in the *A.L.A. Catalogs,* the *A.L.A. Booklist,* the *United States Catalogs,* the *Catalogue of Public Documents,* the *Union List of Serials,* and other less important lists. As a rule, our return for such coöperative work has been to have the L.C. card numbers included in the list or bibliography resulting, but whether the numbers went in or not, the word from Dr. Putnam has always been to cooperate when the results would be a benefit to American libraries or the American Library Association.

Soon after the work was started, Dr. Putnam in a few brief talks made clear to me the distinction between matters of policy which should be referred to him and the administrative details which I was expected to attend to on my own responsibility. Naturally, after the work had settled down along definite lines, I found it necessary to ask for his decision less frequently; but never, except when serving abroad as director of the war work of the American Library Association, did he give up the practice of deciding the larger questions of policy and attending personally to the most important items of the correspondence. Although his decisions in matters of policy were usually reached very quickly, I recall no case in which they were not essentially correct. His judgment as to the reaction of the subscribing libraries to any proposed change was unerring.

Some statistical tables recently prepared for the Exposition at Seville show that the list of active subscribers now exceeds

forty-five hundred, that the sale of cards during the current year will amount to well over $200,000, that the total sales during the past twenty-seven years have been over $2,000,000, that the stock contains over seventy-five million cards, and that the card distributing agency has grown to a Division of seventy-five assistants. But, as Dr. Putnam has often pointed out, the value of the card distribution work to American libraries cannot be measured in dollars and cents. Evidence is constantly being received that the general level of library catalogues is being raised throughout the country. Libraries that have poor catalogues or none at all, learning that they can obtain the printed cards, are encouraged to construct adequate catalogues. They take the printed cards as models for their manuscript cataloguing and carry on successfully even though they have never seen a copy of the A.L.A. catalogue rules. In this way libraries of all kinds are being catalogued that might not otherwise have been catalogued in a generation.

Although, owing to distance and financial considerations, foreign libraries have thus far made little use of the L.C. cards, the L.C. system is accepted as a model by the leading library economists of the world. The Russian and German governmental libraries already have card printing and distributing agencies, those of the former closely modeled on the lines of the L.C. system. The Czechoslovakians and the Spaniards have started similar activities. Queries received from several South American countries indicate that they are contemplating the production and distribution of cards through a governmental agency. Communications have come from British librarians, library associations, and officials indicating that that country will eventually print and distribute cards from a central agency, on the L.C. plan.

For the possible benefit of those who are starting card printing and distributing agencies, and those who are in-

terested in the continued success of the work at the Library of Congress, I here write down what I consider the major problems that must be solved to make a national card distributing enterprise a success, basing my conclusions on the experience of the past twenty-seven years at the Library of Congress.

Maintaining a reserve force. The maintenance of a reserve force has probably been an accepted principle in military science for a thousand years. Everyone who hoped for the success of the allied armies in the late war remembers the cheering message that the German reserves were gone and felt that the end was in sight. Now a library that has undertaken to supply the cards for the libraries of a nation is just as much in need of reserves as the army that fights the nation's battles. It is always on the firing line and is under responsibility to the library public. Like the Post Office Department, it must perform its function properly or be called to account. The employees connected with the acquisition of books, the cataloguing, and the printing of the cards and their distribution are quite certain to have the usual amount of sickness, take the usual annual leave, and resign suddenly to get married, or accept new positions. Most libraries have barely enough help to do the work even when the whole force is present. When emergencies come the work simply waits till the emergency is over. But once the library has undertaken to distribute cards as a business proposition, this will not do. Either the cards must go out or the complaints will surely come in and have to be answered. The obvious remedy is to have available a reserve force all along the line large enough so that the work need not stop when a few assistants drop out. The drag in the work resulting when assistants drop out in a division that has no reserves is just as positive as the force of gravity. Months and even years may be required to get the work back to normal.

Sound policy as to the scope of the stock. Much as one would like to promote the cause of universal bibliography by building up a stock of cards that would cover all publications of importance in the world, until some wealthy government, organization, or public benefactor gets more enthusiastic than any that has so far appeared, it seems necessary to limit the stock, as has been done at the Library of Congress, to cards for publications in the library or institution that is managing the distribution and in libraries closely affiliated with it, and to well-defined classes of books in other libraries, such as (1) books of considerable importance in the national language; (2) books, sets, and series of much importance in foreign languages. If means become available, it is, of course, highly desirable to cover all the other books in the leading scholarly libraries of the country; but that would be a large undertaking in the United States. At present, it seems practicable to cover these only by securing good typewritten entries, placing these in our Union Catalogue and arranging to supply photographic copies of them. Improvements in photostat machines now being made seem likely to render that feasible.

Satisfactory system for keeping up the stock. If the library adopts the plan followed at the Library of Congress of keeping the cards in stock indefinitely, it has a serious printing job on its hands. A cheap and satisfactory method of reproducing the cards without resetting has not yet appeared, in spite of rumors to the contrary. The great desideratum is a cheap method of producing a light plate that can be stored with the cards and sent to the printer when the cards run out. Until that is supplied, the choice lies between reprinting by some offset process (not especially cheap or satisfactory at present) and resetting the type and rereading the proof. Adequate printing funds must be provided for. It is no more excusable to let the cards run out and stay out for months than

it would be for the Post Office Department to run out of stamps or the Treasury to run out of currency. An effective signal and a routine need to be devised that will insure that a card will ordinarily be reprinted before it runs out.

Securing the continuous coöperation of other divisions. Like some other ventures, a card distribution project is not a thing to be entered into lightly. The divisions concerned with the acquisition, classifying, and cataloguing of books will soon be called upon to vary their routine, speed up their processes, and keep them speeded up continuously. It is important, therefore, to get all divisions directly concerned to regard the work as their work, not as work thrust upon them for the benefit of the card-distributing office. It has always been plain enough to me that without a strong executive head like Dr. Putnam to support it, the card distribution work would have been a failure. In one way or another, the support of the contributing divisions must be secured. It is manifestly much better to secure it voluntarily than by executive compulsion.

Protecting the stock from dust. We are assured that when the new building designed to house the Card Division, Copyright Office, and other activities of the Library of Congress is constructed, it will be practicable to provide a storage room for the stock having a ventilating system that will remove 98 per cent of the dust from the air, thereby substantially solving the dust problem. Until we move into this building, we shall have to devote an increasing amount of attention and funds to this item. The skeleton steel cases used at the Library of Congress for storage, although designed by a master engineer, and admirable in every other essential respect, do not exclude dust. If the dust is not kept off it gradually discolors the tops of the cards and, what is worse, works down and discolors the face of the cards. To any in-

stitution that is starting to accumulate and maintain a stock of cards, I would strongly urge attention to the dust problem in the beginning. The storage room should be made dust proof if practicable. The next best thing is to adopt a type of storage case that will keep out the dust. If the cases are so constructed as to provide for each tray a close-fitting compartment, air tight on five sides, and the fronts of the trays are so designed as to fit closely into the sixth (open) side of the compartment, nearly all the dust can be kept out.

The above major problems are only partly solved at the Library of Congress and there are numerous minor problems awaiting solution, but having in mind what has been accomplished during the past thirty years under Dr. Putnam's guidance and inspiration, we look forward to the future with confidence.

THIRTY YEARS AGO[1]

WRITTEN IN JUNE, 1899, AND PUBLISHED IN THE "AUBURN DAILY ADVERTISER," JULY 5, 1899, UNDER THE TITLE "ONE DEPARTMENT OF LIBRARY OF CONGRESS"

BY FREDERICK C. HICKS

THE late Librarian of Congress, Hon. John Russell Young, in his annual report submitted in December, 1898, recalls the familiar adage, "There is no better university than a collection of books;" and farther on in the same report, he says: "In the highest sense the library is the home of research. The capital can never be other than the center of library work. Here on Capitol Hill must be found the national treasure house of knowledge." No one will be inclined to question the truth of these statements; but in writing the words first quoted, it can scarcely be supposed that Mr. Young meant to confine their application to books alone. This would be inconsistent with his evident conception of the purpose and scope of the national library. Just how all-embracing this library is may not be a matter of general information, and on that assumption, with the hope that our "national treasure house of knowledge" may be more fully appreciated, we venture a brief sketch.

The Library of Congress, considered from the viewpoint of the reader, is divided into seven distinct departments. Of these, the one which includes books of a general nature is the largest. The other departments have been designated by the terms "Law Library," "Periodical Department," "Graphic

1. After thirty years, the writer finds no better way of paying tribute to Mr. Putnam than by printing this article which is a young assistant's impression of one department of the Library of Congress as it was when Mr. Putnam became librarian. The prophecy in the closing words has long ago been fulfilled.

Arts Department," "Manuscript Department," "Music Department," and "Maps and Charts Department." The department last named is the most unique in its character and probably best illustrates the "expansion policy" in library work.

Maps form the basis "for that geographical treatment of history which is essential to a clear understanding of human society." To obtain accurate maps has therefore been the aim of every true historian or careful student of history. Nevertheless, the dearth of collected cartographical data has been so great that little success has rewarded the best efforts. Thus it happens that many of the maps with which our histories and popular atlases are filled, are mere reproductions of doubtful originals to which the imagination of some ambitious draftsman has made material alterations.

To the diplomat or statesman, accurate maps are invaluable aids. This fact is exemplified in recent time by the international disputes over boundary questions such as the Venezuela controversy and the Canadian-Alaskan boundary question now under consideration by the Anglo-American Joint High Commission. In both of these instances maps and surveys form very largely the basis for the decision. Also, in times of war, accurate maps are weapons of offense and defense which must be reckoned with just as with guns and war vessels. In our war with Spain, the possession of United States hydrographic charts materially promoted our success. Had we relied on the Spanish charts which maliciously or ignorantly gave false soundings, many important positions on the coast of Cuba would have been deemed inaccessible for our ships of war.

The preceding are some of the cases in which the value of maps is evident, and where the lack of them is most deeply felt. It is the purpose of the library map department to meet these needs, and not only to accumulate a collection of maps unequaled in the world, but to become in a certain sense a

national bureau of cartographical information. To accomplish this end is no slight undertaking; but under the direction of Mr. P. Lee Phillips, superintendent of the hall of maps and charts, a long stride has been taken in that direction.

There are at present in the map department over 50,000 sheet maps which are rapidly being classified and catalogued. In addition to these there are 1,800 atlases, ancient and modern, over 400 school geographies, and 1,563 pocket maps. The sheet maps include geological charts, coast and hydrographic surveys, political and physical maps, railway maps, insurance maps, wind and current charts, ordnance surveys, coast defense maps, and relief maps. There are also a number of valuable globes and relief models. The collection of American maps is especially complete and includes hundreds of manuscripts of inestimable value. These "mother maps" of geography are being scientifically preserved by an expert map worker, thus protecting them for all time from the ravages of decay.

The maps, charts, and atlases above enumerated form a collection the most complete in the Western Hemisphere and with few peers in old world libraries. But a new feature in map cataloguing has made doubly complete this vast record of historical and geographical knowledge. There are in the library over 832,107 books, many of which contain very valuable maps published next their descriptive texts. These maps have been until the present time of limited use, being practically buried without a tombstone, accessible only to a few librarians delving with curious spade. By a systematic investigation these maps are now being unearthed, carefully scrutinized, and their value estimated. For each map, there is made a catalogue card containing a reference to the volume and page where the map may be found. By means of these cards, alphabetically arranged in cabinets in the map room,

the whole resource of the library is brought within its proper department.

How this vast collection, situated in the national capital and necessarily guarded with scrupulous care is to be made available to the public of the United States, is a question which demands explanation. In the first place, the maps are always submitted for personal examination to those who make application at the library. Secondly, whenever the restrictions of the copyright law do not prevent, on application to the librarian, photographs and tracings may be made, thus producing accurate copies which may be sent to any destination. A price list of all maps published is rapidly being completed, and is kept abreast of important publications. To those contemplating the purchase of maps this list will be of great service.

In addition to this, cartographical bibliographies are issued from time to time on subjects of public interest. During the year 1898 bulletins were issued of all library maps relating to "Cuba" and to "Alaska and the Northwestern part of North America." Previously there had been published a *Cartography of the State of Virginia,* and under the auspices of the American Historical Association, a *Guiana and Venezuela Cartography.*

From the above rough outline of the work of one of its new departments some conception may be gained of what the national library means to the intellectual life of the country. Each in its own sphere, the other departments are accomplishing results equally important. New energy has been infused into the library's life by the appointment of Hon. Herbert Putnam to be its chief. Under his wise administration, there is certainty that, some day, the Library of Congress will rival "those noble establishments of the Old World, whose treasures are a people's pride and whose growth is the highest achievement of modern civilization."

DID COLUMBUS DISCOVER TOBAGO?[1]

BY LUCIUS LEE HUBBARD

A VISIT to Trinidad and Tobago in the West Indies was made by me in the early months of 1927 with a view to ascertain how well founded is the belief that Defoe used the latter island as the prototype of Robinson Crusoe's dwelling place. My visit was followed by an attempt to gather authentic data on the discovery of Tobago and on the names under which the latter has gone. Some statements repeated to this day in the pages of writers of repute and perhaps therefore by a quasi statute of limitations entitled to credence are, however, open to doubt. One of them is that Tobago derived its present name from a fancied if not fanciful resemblance in shape to the Cogioba or Cohoba, a Y-shaped tube alleged to have been in use by the West India natives to draw into the nose a powdered herb supposed to be tobacco.[2] This belief has gradually become

1. Among the prominent writers on the early history of American discovery are Peter Martyr (whose *Decades* appeared in print from 1511 on); Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo y Valdés (*La Historia general de las Indias,* 1535-1557); Fernando Colombo (died 1539; *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo,* etc., published in Italian in 1571); Bartolomé de las Casas (*Historia de las Indias,* 1527-1559; published in 1875-1876); Antonio de Herrera y Tordesillas (*Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales,* published in 1601-1616); J. B. Muñoz (*Historia del Nuevo-mundo,* published in 1793); Martín Fernández de Navarrete (*Colección de los viages y descubrimientos,* etc., published 1825-1837); Washington Irving (*History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus,* London, 1828); John Fiske (*The Discovery of America,* 1892); J. Boyd Thacher (*Christopher Columbus, His Life, His Works, His Remains,* 1903-1904); not to mention others not utilized for this paper.

I shall refer to Las Casas as L.C. and to his narrative as the *Historia;* to Ferdinand Columbus as Fernando or F.C. and to his book as the *Historie;* and to Navarrete's account of the third voyage, as the Letter (of Columbus to his sovereigns).

2. Cf. Pietro Martire Anghiera, *Decade* (Latin ed., Paris, 1587), I, cap. 9, p. 94; Martyr says Cohóbba was an herb. Oviedo, *La Historia general de las Indias* (Sala-

linked, somewhat confusedly, with another first expressed by Las Casas and adopted by later writers, that it was Columbus who, on his third voyage (1498) on going through the Boca del Drago, a strait off the northwest point of Trinidad, saw the islands Grenada and Tobago, and named them. But among the objections to these stories is the fact that the actual shape of Tobago does not justify the alleged comparison, and further, even if it should, Columbus would have had to go round the island to be aware of the fact, which no one alleges he did. It must have been a belief in the Las Casas story which led the editor of the *Century Atlas* to show by diagram the supposed track of Columbus from the Boca past each of those islands, Tobago and Grenada, which involves a wide detour from the direct route to Hispaniola past Margarita, for which detour there seems to be not a shred of evidence in existence. The probability that Columbus never even saw Tobago forms the subject of this paper.

As introductory to my theme, I may call attention to several important topics. First of all, in reading the old narratives we may justly assume that their several authors did not confine themselves, either for facts or for descriptions, wholly to material then in print but supplemented it for the sake of style or lucidity, drawing inferences based on hearsay, or in the case of the earlier writers, based on a personal acquaintance with the route outlined by them for Columbus, and supplying details which were probably unknown to that navigator, or were at least not found in the material left by him. This inference is indeed confirmed by Las Casas himself quite frankly several times, and is also true, I believe, of his original and unqualified assertion that Columbus discovered both Grenada ("Asuncion") and Tobago ("Concepcion"), which

manca, 1547), Lib. V, f. xlvii; Oviedo says Cohobba was a forked tube. *Historie del S. D. Fernando Colombo,* relation of F. Roman, 131 *v.;* Sloane, *Nat. Hist. of Jamaica* (1707-1725), I, 149.

was repeated with equal assurance in turn by Herrera, Muñoz, Irving, Fiske, Thacher, and by many after them. But, for mathematical reasons which I shall give in due time, this assertion may turn out to have been merely another of the inferences of its first author. Maps existing in his day showed those islands, the one almost directly north of the Boca del Drago, and the other less distant but more to the east; and what would be more natural to an imagination not tempered by caution than to form and express a belief that Columbus must have seen them in the distance as he passed out of the Boca and turned his prow to the west. It is true, indeed, but not probable, that the map of La Cosa (1500) may have furnished to Las Casas the suggestion for the name alleged to have been given Grenada, for not far north of that island ("y. de mayo") opposite a smaller one near the modern St. Vincent, we find on that map the word "ascension," which reappears in the Antilles on only one other map of the early sixteenth century (Freducci, 1514/15) that I have been able to consult. The island Concepcion best known to students of Columbus is much farther north, and was the second island named by Columbus on his first voyage,[3] and hence the less liable to reduplication here.

Another preliminary to be considered is the subject of distances recorded in these narratives. They seem at times to be haphazard guesses, are frequently exaggerations, and in all cases should be subjected to careful scrutiny before being made the basis of important conclusions, and even where correct, they at times lay themselves open to suspicion as of later derivation than the other facts in the context.

On his first voyage when Columbus was nearing Guanahani, Pinzon on September 25 reported what he thought to

3. With the mention of that island Navarrete tells us what may have been the habit of Columbus: "*A la segunda puse nombre la isla de* Santa María de Concepcion: . . . *é así á cada una nombre nuevo*" (Nav., *Primer Viage*, I, 167).

be land ahead, and the Admiral (Columbus) promptly estimated that it was about twenty-five leagues distant. The object sighted proved to be "showers and heavy cloud masses" (*nembi & nuvoloni*) which often take on the appearance of real land (F.C., 45 *v.*). Perhaps a mariner by long experience can estimate the approximate distance of clouds, which in various forms are accustomed to float at appropriate elevations, but in the case of land of unknown altitude there can be no certainty of an accurate estimate of its distance. In the instance cited, the land supposed to be in view would have had to be at least 4,600 feet high (cf. *infra*)!

In the Letter, which I have stated constitutes Navarrete's printed account of the third voyage, Columbus gives the distance across the Gulf of Paria—the inland sea west of Trinidad—between the Bocas (the Serpent's Mouth and the Dragon's Mouth) as twenty-six leagues, whereas it is in fact about half that much, but the strange part of the assertion is that Columbus adds that there can be no error in the measurement, for it was made with the quadrant (Nav., I, 258)![4]

The figures given by Las Casas (II, 262) for the distance between Grenada and the Boca are actually not very far wrong, but must have been derived by him from other sources than Columbus,[5] for even if that island had been sighted by Columbus from a distance, which too is highly improbable, there would have been absolutely no means to estimate correctly how far it was from the Boca without going directly to the island, and these figures, therefore, as we shall see, cannot be ascribed to Columbus. Las Casas must here be draw-

4. It may be said that Columbus thought Point Arenale, opposite the Serpent's Mouth, was in 5° N. latitude (A. v. Humboldt, *Hist. de la Géogr.*, IV, 197) which shows that something was wrong with his instrument. In this connection I may note an interesting error in a reference to Punto Arenale by Peter Martyr, "*Arenalis* cauleth this lande *Puta*" (1st *Decade*, bk. 6, p. 88, Arber's reprint of R. Eden).

5. Las Casas mentions his use of "marine charts" in estimating (incorrectly) the length of the south coast of Trinidad.

ing on current knowledge.[6] Fernando and Navarrete omit all reference to Grenada and Tobago.

The term league as used by Columbus, by his own statement (Nav., I, 258, 260), was of four miles. The Italian mile was 1,480, and the Spanish 1,392, as against ours of 1,853 meters. George E. Nunn[7] says Columbus used the Italian measurement. The equivalent of the Italian and Spanish leagues, respectively, in our league, is expressed by the ratio (Italian: 4 x 1,480) 5,920 meters: (Spanish: 4 x 1,392) 5,568 meters: (American: 3 x 1,853) 5,559 meters, or about 3.2: 3: 3; that is to say, one Italian league is about $\frac{1}{16}$ longer than either of the others, and about that much longer than three of our nautical miles.

If we wish to be fairly accurate in our conclusions, perhaps the most important preliminary step in this discussion is to determine the elevation, or elevations, on board Columbus' ship, from which observations could be or were habitually made. The *Santa Maria* of his first voyage was of 233 gross, or 143 net, tons burden, and had a draught of three meters or nearly ten feet.[8] His ship on the third voyage, Fernando tells us, was of one hundred tons, and drew three "brasses"[9] F.C., p. 162); about six feet. Nobody seems to have discovered its name. It was thus about two-thirds the size of the *Santa Maria.* On the latter the eye of an observer on the poop deck was about twenty-five feet and that of a man at

6. *Infra,* p. 221.

7. *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924), and authorities cited.

8. Cf. George C. V. Holmes, *Ancient and Modern Ships,* London, 1900.

9. This word (Span. *braza,* Fr. *brasse*) seems to have no modern equivalent in English, unless it be "an arm's length"; I do not find in our dictionaries the form I have used above. The Italian *braccio* (Plu. commonly *braccia*) corresponds to the ordinary length of the human arm; equivalent to 0.5836 meter, 1.914 feet (Rigutini, *Vocabolario,* etc.). Other dictionaries are confused, or even contradictory; Span. *braza, la medida de los brazos extendidos,* 1.6718 m.; Fr. *brasse, mesure de la longueur des deux bras étendus. Mesure d'environ 1.62 m.;* Webster, 3. The reach of the extended arms; a fathom (6 or 5½ feet).

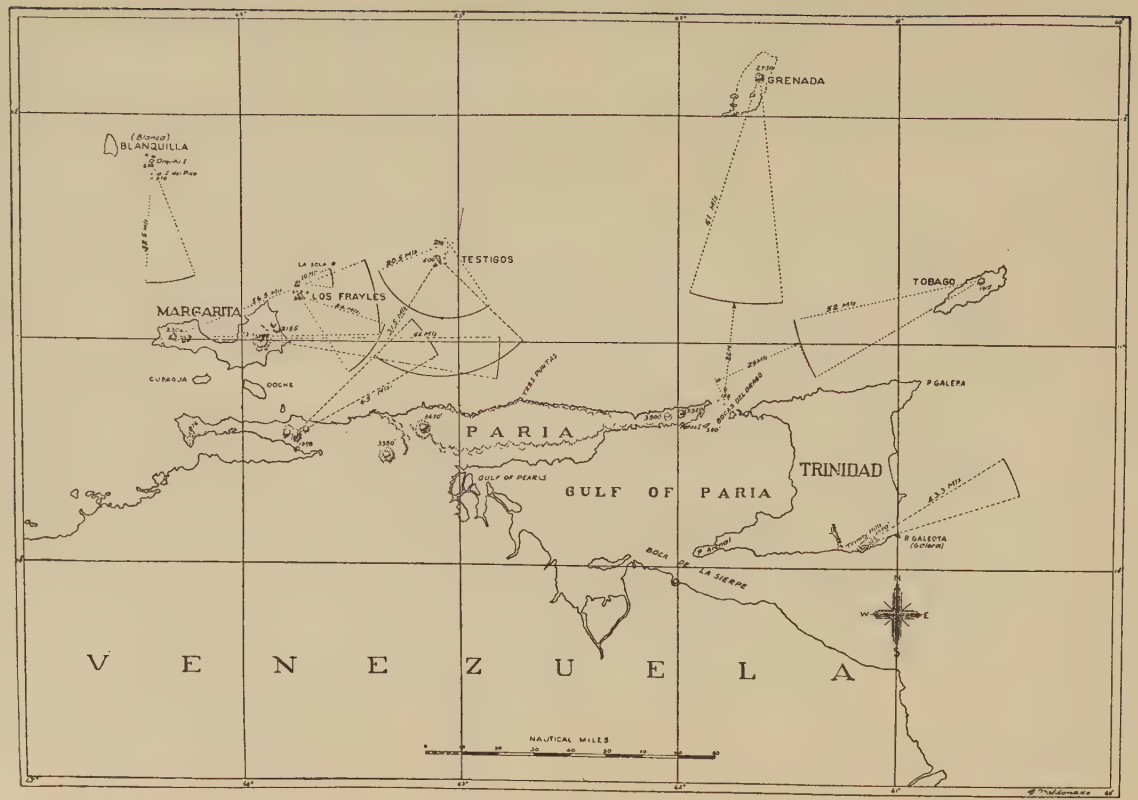
the masthead about sixty-seven feet above the surface of the water. These figures are scaled from a diagram in Mr. Holmes's book. Since the heights of the decks,[10] masts, etc., of a ship have a more or less definite relationship to its other dimensions, I am safely within bounds, when for the two elevations named (really about sixteen and forty-three feet) I assign to the eye of an observer on the smaller vessel the approximate figures of the larger vessel, twenty-five and sixty-four feet, respectively. This, for one thing, conduces to rapid figuring where square roots are involved (cf. *infra*).

The outlook man on shipboard was stationed at one of these posts, or perhaps at the prow (nearly the equivalent of the poop), according to the importance of the occasion. In the printed record of the four voyages, I have found but four or five instances when he was at the higher of these elevations.

The arcs shown on the appended diagram, taken from the British Admiralty chart of Trinidad, therefore represent a possible excess visibility due to the difference in altitude between sixty-four and forty-three feet; that excess would be only about one and a half miles. In other words, I allow myself a zone of that breadth—for "good measure."

In my estimates of distance over the water at which certain islands of known altitude in the West Indies are visible, I make use of a formula or process called to my attention by my friend, Professor H. C. Carver, by which without the use of tables the approximate zero-visibility is determined for two points by adding the square roots of their altitudes—that of the eye of the observer and that of the high point of an island—and increasing this sum by about one-fifth. The result is the approximate distance in nautical miles between the eye and the island. By zero-visibility I mean that the eye,

10. Peter Martyr, as quoted by Irving (II, 363), says the ship of Columbus was decked, the other two being merchant caravels (P.M., *Dec.* I, cap. 6, p. 59).



GRENADA
(Blanca)
BLANQUILLA
TESTIGOS
LA SOLA
LOS FRAYLES
MARGARITA
CUBAGUA
DOCHE
TOBAGO
P GALERA
PARIA
TRINIDAD
GULF OF PEARLS
GULF OF PARIA
BOCA DE LA SIERPE
R GALEOTA
(Galera)
VENEZUELA
NAUTICAL MILES

the high point of the island, and the water horizon between them are in a plane tangential to the water, so that the top of the island can just not be seen. Distances taken from tables compiled by Professor Carver are laid down as arcs on the diagram.[11] Well within these arcs lie the points of zero-visibility from islands and other eminences, mentioned in the course of this paper, to a masthead supposed to be sixty-four feet above the water.

If now we consult the early narratives, we can, with the aid of the diagram, visualize the course of Columbus from the time he sighted land, July 31, 1498, until he left the Dragon's Mouth. For some days before that date he had been sailing west, but because of a shortage of water, the probable deterioration of the provisions that he was bringing to his colony at Hispaniola, and his solicitude over possible disorders or sedition that might have arisen there, and with a view to reach his journey's end as soon as possible, he had just altered his course and was sailing north in order to fall in with members of that group of the northern Antilles seen by him on his second voyage and called by him Cannibal Islands (as was Trinidad itself also called on some maps until 1525). The land in sight, "15 leagues" away (F.C., 156*v.*), was a group or ridge of peaks now called Trinity Hills, the highest of which on the Admiralty chart is given as 1,070 feet[12] above sea level and stands close to the south coast of the island some seven miles west of its southeastern extremity (Punta Galeota). Two other peaks of the group, slightly farther east, are about nine hundred feet high. Columbus directed his course toward the group, sailing west and a little

11. These figures are not corrected for refraction, which according to Bowditch (*American Practical Navigator,* Tab. 6) would add about .08 per cent to the visibility, which for our present purpose may be neglected.

12. It is now known to be 997 feet according to the latest topographical map, which was received after my diagram was prepared. This reduces the visibility by 1.19 miles.

south, *"alla volta dell' Occidente, per andare ad un Capo, che più all' Ostra si mostrava"* (F.C., 157); which of course had not yet shown itself!

The zero-visibility of the two lower peaks of the Trinity Hill group from the assumed elevation (sixty-four feet) on Columbus' vessel was therefore actually about 40.5 miles, while that of the highest peak, from the *deck,* was forty miles. The two lower peaks would therefore first come into view. The estimate of fifteen leagues—about forty-five miles—happened in this case to be close to the truth—if it was indeed contemporaneous.

To the extreme southeast point of the island Columbus gave the name Punta della Galera (Spanish, *Galea*) and Fernando stands alone in adding the remark that the coast extended toward the northeast as far as the eye could reach. This may have been a natural inference if made before the vessel reached land, or it may have been an inference by the author or editor of the *Historie*. As a matter of fact it was erroneous; the east and south coasts of Trinidad form a right angle,[13] running almost due north and south, and east and west, respectively. The statement of the text may possibly have led to the arc-like contour later given this part of the coast line by certain seventeenth and eighteenth century cartographers (such as Sanson, D'Anville, and others). The present name of the Point is Galeota, the original name Galera having been as early as 1544 (map of S. Cabot) transferred to the northeastern extremity of the island, where, I am informed, there is no rock visible that resembles a vessel under sail.[14] It is true that the map of Cantino (1502) may be construed as placing Galera at the northeast, but many maps after his time placed it in its proper position.

Coasting west along the south shore of Trinidad past

13. See diagram.

14. Letter from J. W. Macgillivray, Surveyor-General, Trinidad, November, 1927.

Punta Arenale and the Serpent's Mouth (Spanish, *Boca de la Sierpe;* now Point Icacos), at the southwest extremity of the island, Columbus entered an inland sea, the gulf of Paria, and went north through it toward the mountain range that once united Trinidad to the South American continent, and now forms the barrier of both countries against the assaults of the Caribbean Sea. This range—Paria—he found broken by several gaps or straits (Nav., I, 253) collectively called the Dragon's Mouth (Spanish, *Boca del Drago*), the largest and westernmost of which, the Boca Grande, is the political boundary between Trinidad and the mainland, as is the Serpent's Mouth on the south. These channels he rightly recognized as the result of erosion caused by the recurrent floods from freshwater sources on the continental mass at the south—a river now known as the Orinoco.

In his first belief that Paria, or, as he named the greater area west and south of it, the land of Gracia, was another island, Columbus did not then go through the Boca Grande, but sailed west along the south coast of Paria in search of an outlet in that direction, and in the hope of falling in with some of the natives. This search lasted about eight days, and the accounts of it left by Fernando and Las Casas, and by Columbus in the Letter to his sovereigns, are substantially in accord. But, for the subsequent progress of Columbus until he reached Hispaniola there is doubt whether any particulars (documents) from the hand of Columbus ever existed (*infra,* p. 220).

During this forced exploration, one of the objects of Columbus seems to have been successful. He came into close and amicable contact with the natives, and obtained from them pearls and samples of gold to send back to Spain, bestowing on one locality in commemoration thereof the name Gulf of Pearls (F.C., 161). But in his principal object he failed. He found further progress west or north blocked. Finally, realiz-

ing this fact, he determined to go back and pass north out of the Gulf of Paria through the Dragon's Mouth. Accordingly he hoisted anchor on the eleventh of August (L.C., II, 259) and sailed east (*"hácia el leste"*), which Las Casas explains, here and elsewhere (II, 232), is the direction of sunrise. That author repeatedly describes the Boca and the passage through it, interspersing his remarks with detached references to the gulf within it, as if drawing from several sources. This part of his narrative seems to an English reader to be confused and ill arranged. Perhaps the fault is ours. He also gives some remarks, attributed by him to the Admiral, on the significance of the term Dragon's Mouth, which, he adds, he had not found written by the hand of Columbus, as he had found what went before. This seems to confirm the statement or surmise made above about the lack of original data from Christopher on the later part of this voyage.

Columbus passed through the Boca on the thirteenth of August, and all authorities agree that he thence directed his course toward Hispaniola, which lay to the northwest. Some say that in passing Margarita he sailed northeast of it: others say he went around it by the south and west, leaving it on his right; others again take him even farther west along the South American coast before he finally turned north. The Letter has nothing definite on this part of the course, nor has Navarrete personally. In view of what the Letter says elsewhere his silence here is significant, for it utterly ignores an important statement by Las Casas. He was unwilling to commit himself on matters of uncertainty without the support of documentary evidence "authentic and original," and "free from prejudice and partiality" (Nav., I, LXXVII). There was apparently nothing to add.

Let us now, at the risk of repetition, marshal the facts before us in an effort to visualize the situation of Columbus.

He had lost a week in his attempt to find an outlet around

the southwest side of Paria; anxiety about his provisions and the welfare of his colony were weighing heavily on his mind; among positive results attained he had seen and interviewed the natives of a new land, and secured samples of the precious products to indicate its importance; he had noted its general aspects and continental proportions. Under the urgency of the case there was little more to be gained by further delay. His one incentive was haste.

If, further, we add the state of bodily discomfort of the Admiral and the temporary failure of his eyesight (he was forced to rely on the statements of the sailors and pilots for the notes he took), we can readily understand with what reluctance he may have abandoned further present investigation along the "coast of *Terra ferma,*" but how contentedly he must have taken the most direct course to Hispaniola (F.C., 163 *v.*).

The present lack of original material for the itinerary of Columbus after he left the Boca seems to be generally admitted.[15] Descriptions of points on the coast by several authors, and of islands that must have been passed by him, may safely be ascribed, not to Columbus, but to a general familiarity of those authors with the localities described. Into this category certainly must fall the assertion of Las Casas about the discovery of Grenada and Tobago.

"On coming out of the Boca," says Las Casas, "Columbus saw an island to the north which was 26 leagues from the Boca, and named it Asuncion; he saw another and called it Concepcion." (II, 262) Grenada and Tobago—one or both—are the only islands that could possibly be meant by this remark, both because of the direction and the distance stated. Besides, Las Casas afterward specifically mentions the next nearest islands, the Testigos.

15. A. v. Humboldt, *op. cit.*, IV, 258, says: *"Non abattu par les souffrances physiques, il notait 'les distances et les changemens météorologiques' dans un journal qui n'a pas été retrouvé."*

Fernando makes no mention of either Grenada or Tobago, the positions of whose highest elevations are shown on the diagram nearly ninety and eighty miles north and northeast, respectively, from the Boca del Drago. A vessel after having come through the broadest, most westerly channel of that gap (the Boca Grande), would have to run out north or east some twenty-six and twenty-nine miles, respectively, before, under favorable atmospheric conditions, either island could possibly be sighted. In order to have been sighted by Columbus from the Boca, those elevations should be about 5,850 and 4,500 feet, respectively.[16] That Columbus wasted no time at this point of his journey in going out of his way has just been emphasized, and that none of his vessels went astray is quite probable from all that we now know. The mathematics of the case deny all possibility of a chance sight of Grenada or Tobago from a direct track across the Caribbean Sea as far (at least) as the Testigos. The silence of Fernando and of Navarrete as to Grenada and Tobago is itself impressive, and the absence from all maps of the West Indies both before and after the time of Las Casas, of the names Assumption and Conception (except as above stated), alleged to have been given by Columbus to Grenada and Tobago, respectively, is of no little weight in forming an inference of the lack of credence given the statement of Las Casas on this point by map makers after his day, as well as of the lack of currency of such a discovery before it.

Who discovered Grenada and Tobago must be the subject of careful study. Washington Irving[17] says that on the second voyage of Alonzo de Ojeda, 1502, the four ships were named, respectively, *Santa Maria de la Antigua, Santa Maria*

16. These estimates of visibility do not, of course, take into consideration the possible occurrence of a mirage, or of cloud masses suspended over the high points of the two islands, which might lead to a supposition of land beneath them.

17. *Columbus,* London, 1877, III, 52.

de la Grenada, the *Magdalena,* and the *Santa Ana;* that after traversing the Gulf of Paria, and before reaching the island of Margarita, the caravel *Santa Ana* was separated from the others, and for several days the ships were seeking each other in those silent and trackless seas.

The names of the ships—two of them, *Grenada* and *Magdalena*—are significant. It is here that we may find the discovery or the naming of one or both of these islands, imputed generally to Columbus. It needed less than a day's run north or northeast from the Boca del Drago to sight them, and we know that the use of ships' names for newly discovered places in the new world was not without precedent, for Columbus himself on his second voyage named the island Marigalante from his own ship.

I must here content myself with remarking that between about 1512 (Egerton), when the island first appeared on any map, and 1527 (Maggiolo) the name Magdalena (Madanela) for Tobago prevailed. In 1529 (Ribeiro) "Tobago" was applied to the island and has remained almost uninterruptedly down to the present day. With due reserve I may add that the name "gaias" (Cantino, 1502) applied to Grenada (?) may be a corruption of "galera," which we have seen was early erroneously transferred from its rightful position at the southeast corner of Trinidad to the northeast corner. The propinquity of the latter to Tobago or even to Grenada might easily have led to the misapplication of the name in this corrupted form to one or the other of those islands.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

A DEPOSITORY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

BY ALLEN JOHNSON

IT is not impossible that some historian centuries hence, writing of the last fifty years, may describe them as the great extractive period in the history of the Americas. From one point of view the uncovering of the vast resources of the continent is part of the discovery of America. For in truth no one knew until the middle of the last century what treasures lay beneath the surface of the land or divined the uses to which these resources might be put. Almost within our own memory precious metals and scarcely less precious ores have been mined on an unprecedented scale. The conquest of the continent is no idle phrase. The gathering of books and manuscripts—the precious ore of the humanities—is only another phase of the same process. Prompted by the possessive instinct, common to the prospector and the book-collector alike, vast private collections have been amassed; and in most cases have been put at the disposal of scholars. Public libraries and museums have multiplied, and become great depositories of sources for art, literature, science, and history. In this work the national government seemed likely to take no part, leaving to local and state institutions to discover and assemble their own resources. The Library of Congress remained only what its name suggests, a collection of books for the use of national lawmakers. Yet it has assembled from all over the country, almost without forethought, one of the unique sources of history, newspapers which served an immediate practical purpose, and of course the publications which fell to it under the law of copyright. It remained for a farsighted librarian to transform this utilitarian collection at the capital

into a truly national library, not by any drastic legislation, but through the quiet logic of events. Little by little collections came to the library on Capitol Hill as the natural place of deposit for books, documents, and papers of national significance. The habit of making such donations was encouraged. Nor was the collection restricted to its original utilitarian character. The range of interest became as wide as human endeavor. The library came to have its manuscript division, its print division, its division of music. By no stretch of imagination could Congress have conceived of aiding its labors by assembling collections of musical scores; yet by some mysterious process the library is possessed of the third greatest collection of musical manuscripts in the world. And the end is not yet. As the library mans its staff with experts in the various fields of scholarship, it may become, as perhaps the librarian plans, a national institution of research—the national university of which scholars have dreamed.

It was with full realization of the resources of the library that the headquarters of the Dictionary of American Biography were located in Washington. The highest hopes of the Committee of Management have been realized. Nowhere else in the United States could the work have been carried on with equal assurance and dispatch, for while this or that library may have richer collections in many fields, no library possesses so wide a diversity of sources needed for biographical study. The editor is happy to take this opportunity to pay his tribute to the Librarian of Congress. Perhaps Emerson exaggerated when he declared that every institution is the lengthened shadow of a man, but it will be difficult to gainsay that the Library of Congress as it is today is largely the creation of Herbert Putnam.

FRANKLIN IN FRANCE

BY J. J. JUSSERAND

THE little town of Auray in Brittany was, on Sunday, December 5, 1926, decked with flags and flowers. A parade headed by Admiral d'Adhémar de Cransac, in command at Brest, the American consul at Nantes, the prefect, the mayor, several senators and deputies, accompanied by the music of the "fusiliers marins" (the French marines), stopped in front of an old house on whose façade a marble tablet had been affixed; the crowd stood bareheaded while it was unveiled, and this inscription appeared to the eyes:

> Le 4 Décembre 1776, débarqua à Auray Benjamin Franklin, envoyé en France par les Etats-Unis d'Amérique pour négocier la première alliance entre les deux pays.

In honor of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the event, there was a good deal of speech making, rejoicing, and dancing to the sound of the native "biniou," on the "Quai de Saint Goustan," henceforth "Quai Benjamin Franklin." The journey performed a century and a half before by an old man over threescore and ten, of simple garb and manners, on board a small vessel of war belonging to Congress, the *Reprisal,* which, when nearing the French coast, had captured two English brigantines, well deserved such a commemoration; few journeys in the history of the world have had greater consequences.

Franklin arrived at an appropriate moment. It is sometimes said that he was accredited to an effete court and taught it virtue and simplicity. But the king and queen were not effete; the country was not, and the dearest dream of the be-

ribboned and bepowdered courtiers was to enlist and to fight for liberty in America.

The trend of thought in France, especially since the middle of the century, had been in favor of the very ideas dear to Franklin: simpler lives, nearer to nature, the restriction of privileges, the pursuit of happiness made accessible to all, toleration, freedom of thought. The old molds had done their duty and should be broken, new systems more favorable to the many of whatever race, creed, or color should be practiced; new solutions for all problems must be sought; Nature must reveal her secrets. As early as 1748, Montesquieu in his *Esprit des Lois* had stated that the mainspring of a democratic government was "virtue," and that by this he meant "the love of country and love of equality." The famous *Encyclopédie,* with Diderot, d'Alembert, and Voltaire as its moving spirits had begun to appear in 1751. The Chevalier, later Marquis, de Chastellux, future chief of staff of Rochambeau in America, had tried to show in his *Félicité publique,* 1772, that men and nations being perfectible, could advance toward happiness. Buffon was to issue in 1779 his *Epoques de la Nature,* in which he declared that written tradition has informed us only of "the gestures of a few nations, that is of the acts of a very small portion of mankind; the rest of men has remained null for us, null for posterity; they have only emerged from their nihility to pass like shadows, leaving no trace: and would to heaven that the mass of those pretended heroes so praised for their crimes and sanguinary glory had been buried as well in the night of oblivion."

Etiquette and formalism still existed but were detested and their days were numbered. During the whole of their lifelong friendship, Racine and Boileau had never ceased to call each other "Monsieur" ceremoniously in their letters and only once or twice "Cher Monsieur"; Rousseau wants that, be-

tween friends, the word "Monsieur" be suppressed altogether. Formal gardens are replaced by meadows, sinuous alleys, wild flowers. "The man of taste," Rousseau had pronounced, "will give nothing to symmetry, that enemy of nature." Franklin was later to notice this symptomatic little change: the French had ceased to adorn their coaches with gold and colors and had "returned lately to plain carriages painted without arms or figures in one uniform color." The queen retires as much as she can to her peasant village of Trianon, where the king often joins her and they enjoy simple life. She was seated on a mossy bank, in front of the Trianon grotto when, on the sinister fifth of October, 1789, a page arrived breathless with the message that a threatening crowd, marching from Paris, was bearing down on Versailles, and she should return at once to the palace. "Wander in the country," wrote a young officer a little later, "take shelter in the lowly hut of the shepherd; spend the night stretched on skins, the fire burning at your feet, . . . the clock is heard striking twelve. . . . What a moment to retire within yourself and meditate on the origin of nature, while enjoying the most exquisite delights!" The writer was a lieutenant of artillery, Napoléon Bonaparte, by name. To weep at the thought of the misery of others, whoever they might be, was to be fashionable. "In our brilliant capital," Madame Roccoboni had written to Garrick, "kindliness, sensibility, tenderness for humanity have become the universal fashion."

Except that his sensibility was not of the tearful kind and that common sense was the pendulum governing his sentiments, Franklin was the living embodiment of all those aspirations. Even before he arrived, he was popular in France as a scientist, an inventor, a philosopher, an apostle of liberty; his writings had already been translated into French and had appeared in two volumes in quarto, 1773. "Being known to be his friend," Silas Deane had written from Paris,

before the sage came there, "is one of the best recommendations a man can wish to have in France, and will introduce him where titles fail." He had scarcely landed before all arms and hearts were opened to him. He had not gone beyond Nantes when he wrote home: "I am made extremely welcome here, where America has many friends"; and from Paris, a little later: "The cry of the nation is for us." Beaumarchais wrote to Vergennes (December 16, 1776): "The noise made by the coming of Mr. Franklin is inconceivable."

It turned out that he answered and even surpassed expectation. His shrewd yet kindly wit, his interest in all that was going on, his capacity for understanding other people's needs and points of view, his aptness to gratitude, his religious toleration, himself being what would be called now a Unitarian, his simplicity of dress and manner enchanted men and women. He had long worn a wig like everybody else, but had now discarded it. "This Quaker," we read in a police note drawn up shortly after his arrival, and published by Bigelow, "wears the full costume of his sect. He has an agreeable physiognomy, spectacles always on his eyes; but little hair, a fur cap is always on his head. He wears no powder; tidy in his dress; very white linen. His only defence is a walking stick." He was at his ease in every *milieu,* unembarrassed, unassuming.

Reaching Paris, he first joined Silas Deane at the Hambourg Hotel, Rue de l'Université, but was soon offered better accommodation in a pavilion forming part of the splendid Valentinois Mansion[1] at Passy, "a neat village," he said, "on high ground, half a mile from Paris," now one of the finest quarters of the capital itself, and where, so as to continue the tradition of Franklin, the permanent American Embassy has

1. The Hôtel de Valentinois and its beautiful gardens have disappeared. A tablet in the Rue Singer marks the spot where it stood. Views and a description of it are in the *Bulletin de la Société Historique d'Auteuil et de Passy,* Vol. VII, Bulletin LXX.

been established by his worthy successor, Mr. Myron T. Herrick. Franklin spent there in peace and as much happiness as the troublous times permitted, the eight years and a half of his stay in France. The place belonged to Mr. Le Ray de Chaumont, a pro-American who, even after his circumstances had become embarrassed, would not accept any payment. Franklin had with him his two grandsons; one, William Temple Franklin, the natural son of his natural son, acted as his secretary; the other, Benjamin Franklin Bache, was a mere boy, son of his daughter, Mrs. Bache.

Scarcely settled in Passy he became the idol of the place, and indeed of all France. Several women of intelligence, wit, and charm were living there and in neighboring Auteuil, drawing to their salon Frenchmen of letters or science, the lovely Madame Helvetius (our Lady of Auteuil) widow of the famous philosopher, or Madame Brillon who called him "mon cher papa, monsieur papa." A printer to the core, Franklin had established a press in his home at Passy, and printed on it, for his best friends, his now so sought after *Bagatelles* (trifles), witty essays in the vein of Addison, with a deeper philosophical sense under their humorous garb. *Les Ephémères, Dialogue de Mr. F. et de la Goutte, Les Mouches, Morale des Echecs, La Belle et la Mauvaise Jambe,* etc.[2] He also printed on this press his invitations for dinners. Most of his essays were written in a racy French of his own, which Madame Brillon slightly corrected and prevented learned academicians and grammarians from polishing into banality. He spent two evenings a week at the Brillons, great lovers of music, who gave him what he called his opera. He dined out (the midday meal) six days a week, reserving Sunday for the entertainment of "such Americans as pass this way, and I then have my grand son Ben with some other American chil-

2. All the needed information about them, with numerous facsimiles, is in L. S. Livingston, *Franklin and His Press at Passy,* New York, 1914.

dren from the school. If being treated with all the politeness of France and the apparent respect and esteem of all ranks from the highest to the lowest can make a man happy, I ought to be so."[3]

At Madame Helvetius's he found excellent company, but a superfluity of cats, eighteen in number. Young Bache having presented her at a later date with a bulldog named by her Boulet, the number of cats somehow diminished. Such was the charm of the lady that Franklin, being then seventy-six, offered her his hand; she declined the honor, saying: "My husband is dead but I still love my husband." They were however to part good friends, and Franklin wrote her in his semi-wild French, after his return to Philadelphia: "Je vous aime toujours . . . souvent dans mes songes je déjeune avec vous, je me place au cote de vous sur une de votre mille sofas ou je me promene avec vous dans votre belle jardin."

The sage who, according to Turgot's famous line, had drawn lightning from the clouds and the scepter from the hand of tyrants, who had something to say, worth listening to, on any subject, was as popular with the foremost men of thought and knowledge of the century, as with fair ladies: Turgot the great man who, if his ideas had been followed, might have given France a bloodless revolution, Buffon, Voltaire (who in a famous scene at the Academy of Sciences blessed his young grandson), and many others. The wisdom of *Poor Richard's Almanack* was enjoyed by all; a translation into French appeared in 1777 and more than fifty editions followed; his lightning rod became the craze of the day, ladies carried umbrellas with small ones at the top of them, and a conductor trailing behind their gowns. Of more importance was an order of 1786, prescribing that the "conducteur électrique de M. Franklin" would be put on all French warships. People of all sorts applied to him as the

3. To Mrs. Stevenson, January 25, 1779.

prophet or wizard who might solve their difficulties, whether moral or physical. The "échevins" of Saint-Omer having prohibited as dangerous the use of the lightning rod, the question was submitted to the courts, and a young hopeful lawyer who had defended "the sublime invention bestowed by Franklin on mankind" sent him his brief which bore the name, unknown then but not now, of Maximilien de Robespierre. Many learned academies of Paris and the provinces elected him a member, his portraits were everywhere. Writing on June 3, 1779, to his daughter about a clay medallion of him recently produced, he said: "A variety of others have been made since of different sizes; some to be set on the lids of snuff boxes, and some so small as to be worn in rings; and the numbers sold are incredible. These, with the pictures, busts and prints (of which copies upon copies are spread everywhere), have made your father's face as well known as that of the moon, so that he durst not do anything that would oblige him to run away, as his phiz. would discover him wherever he should venture to show it." Some of those works, such as the bust by Houdon, the medal engraved at the Mint by Dupré, out of sheer admiration, no one having ordered it from him, the engraving by Cochin with the celebrated fur cap, are masterpieces. An engraving represented Diogenes holding a picture of Franklin, with the inscription: *Stupete gentes, reperit virum Diogenes* (let nations wonder, Diogenes has found a man).

Interested in all that interested men, he did not prove a silent partner in those societies which had elected him; he was often present at the meetings of the Academy of Sciences; he took an important part in the proceedings of the "Loge des Neuf Soeurs." Freemasonry had been recently introduced in France and Madame Helvetius was greatly interested in it. Voltaire, Lacépède, Houdon were members of this lodge which busied itself especially with art, literature,

morals, and politics. Franklin went now and then to the Catholic sermons of Abbé Fauchet, a priest of advanced ideas who was to deliver later his funeral oration and to die on the revolutionary scaffold.

All this intercourse with men and women, his various activities, his popularity throughout the land, his understanding of sane and legitimate propaganda (as shown by his printing of the constitution of the several States translated into French by the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and which excited enthusiasm), helped toward the main object of Franklin's mission. This object, of extreme importance, was the signing of a treaty of alliance, a treaty of commerce, and the securing from France of as much financial and military help as possible.

He had for him, besides his own wisdom and popularity, the favorable disposition of the mass of the people, the firm good will of Count Vergennes, chief minister to Louis XVI and who has never received quite his due in America,[4] the fiery enthusiasm of Beaumarchais, the decisive example given to the admiring nation by Lafayette. He had withal many difficulties to ward off: the period was not, in France, one of general animosity against the English; it was on the contrary one of Anglomania: English philosophers, literature, sports, dress, were the fashion; Shakespeare was translated into French, and his plays were performed in Paris; several of the ministers were pro-English; Franklin had to count on the nation's love of liberty, liberty for themselves and for others, rather than any general hatred of England. News coming from America would, now and then, cause trouble, giving at times to Vergennes the impression that the Americans "desired but faintly their independence." "Bills extraordinary" drawn by Congress on their representative, without any

4. A noteworthy exception is the lecture before the British Academy of the late Professor Alvord, on "Lord Shelburne and the founding of British-American good-will," Oct. 28, 1925.

adequate provision, were another difficulty. Instead, moreover, of sending only one envoy to France, Congress had sent three.[5] One or the other of Franklin's seconds, jealous of his rank and fame, unwilling to adopt his ideas because it was he and not they who had propounded them, Arthur Lee, later John Adams and John Jay, turned against him and his plans, wrote disparaging letters to Congress, made advances to the British, cast suspicion on the French. But for Vergennes' action at Philadelphia Franklin would have been recalled.

He was not, however, and on the sixth of February, 1778, two treaties were signed, both of an extraordinary kind, and which were to influence profoundly the course of history. The treaty of alliance had, as is well known, for its "essential and direct end to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence absolute and unlimited of the United States." All conquests made "in the northern parts of America" would be "confederated with the United States," nothing of them going to France. "No after claim of compensation" would be allowed whatever might be the event of the war. No truce or peace could be concluded without the "formal consent" of both parties.

For the matter of commerce, hard pressed as they were by their enemies, and ready to grant any concessions to a possible ally, the Americans made offers which the French considered too advantageous for themselves and refused to accept: an uncommon happening in commercial negotiations. "We have desired to secure for ourselves," wrote Vergennes

5. With the title of Commissioners: Franklin, Deane, and Lee. Franklin who had not remained silent on the trouble given him by Lee, became the sole representative of the States, with the title of Minister, in September, 1778; he presented his credentials in May, 1779, "and I have since constantly attended the levee every Tuesday with the other foreign ministers" (To the Committee of Foreign Affairs, May 26, 1779). The negotiations for the peace were entrusted later to four commissioners: Adams, Franklin, Jay, and Laurens; the trouble was even worse.

to Marquis de Noailles, French Ambassador in London, "no advantage of which other nations might be jealous, and which the Americans themselves might, in the course of time, regret to have granted us."

To the same effect, Franklin was saying to Thomas Cushing: "The great principle in both treaties is a perfect equality and reciprocity, no advantages being demanded by France, or privileges in commerce, which the States may not grant to any and every other nation.

"In short the king has treated us generously and magnanimously, taking no advantage of our present difficulties to exact terms which we would not willingly grant when established in prosperity and power."

Personally, as he wrote later to Vergennes, Franklin was in favor of commerce as free and unrestrained as possible between all nations: "The more free and unrestrained it is, the more it flourishes and the happier are all the nations concerned in it. Most of the restraints put upon it in different countries seem to have been the projects of particulars for their private interest under pretence of public good."

The relations being now broken between France and England, and the British Ambassador, Lord Stormont, having left Paris on the twentieth of March, Franklin was presented at court in Versailles on the same day. The Duke de Croy, later a Marshal of France, who could not help feeling anxious about the consequences of "events as pregnant as any that had come before," has described in his memoirs the "stupendous" scene: "At the levee, I found the famous Franklin with two other deputies of America surrounded by many people attracted by the sight. The picturesque appearance of the impressive old man, with his spectacles and his bald head, his aspect of a patriarch and founder of his nation, added to his fame as the inventor of electricity, legislator of the thirteen United Provinces, and his science, added

still more to the beauty of the picture. . . . Mr. de Vergennes presented Mr. Franklin, Mr. Deane and Mr. Lee, and two other Americans. The king spoke first and with more care and a better grace than ever noticed in him before, saying: 'Firmly assure Congress of my friendship. I hope that this will be for the good of the two nations.'

"Mr. Franklin very nobly thanked him in the name of America, saying: 'Your Majesty may count on the gratitude of Congress and its faithful observance of the pledges it now takes.' Mr. de Vergennes added: 'It is certain, Sir, that one cannot have a more becoming and more reserved behavior than these gentlemen have observed. . . .' Congress and American independence were thus recognized by France, first of all nations. What reflexions so great an event suggests! . . . An implacable war was in prospect and perhaps also the advent of a country vaster than ours and which might one day dominate Europe. . . . All minds were beside themselves, so much struck and shaken was every one by all this. Meeting Franklin in the 'Oeil de Boeuf,' I went to him and said: 'It could belong only to the discoverer of electricity to electrify the two ends of the world.'

"Vergennes offered thereupon to Franklin and his companions 'a splendid *diner de cérémonie,* as to accredited ambassadors.' "

What followed is well known, the immediate sending of a fleet to America under command of Count D'Estaing, of an army, in 1780, under Rochambeau, of another fleet under de Grasse, with a squadron commanded by Bailli de Suffren who had orders to round the Cape and keep the English busy in the East Indies, which he was still doing a year and a half after Yorktown, unaware of the event.

Rochambeau had orders to pay in cash for everything, including even "the straw for the soldiers," which he did. Financial no less than military aid was indispensable. The

French treasury was nearly empty; Necker who held the purse strings was in despair, bankruptcy seemed impending; the failure of the *Caisse d'Escompte* caused considerable embarrassment. Franklin secured, however, a succession of loans, and sometimes gifts (a loan would occasionally be transformed into a gift; interests were sometimes waived): two million livres in 1777 (those two as a gift), three in 1778, one in 1779, four in 1780, four in 1781, six in 1782, six in 1783, when the French Revolution was very near.

More than one historian has credited these grants to the shrewd diplomacy of Franklin, and to nothing else; they might not inappropriately have added that French good will had also something to do with it. Franklin was in any case of that opinion and rendered full justice to his partners, writing to Samuel Cooper, March 16, 1780: "We certainly owe much to this nation; and we shall obtain much more if the same prudent conduct continues, for they really and strongly wish our prosperity and will promote it by every means in their power. But we should, at the same time, do as much as possible for ourselves, and not ride, as we say, a free horse to death. There are some Americans returning hence, with whom our people should be upon their guard, as carrying with them a spirit of enmity to this country. Not being liked here themselves, they dislike the people; for the same reason indeed, they ought to dislike all that knew them." And later, addressing Livingston: "This is really a generous nation, fond of glory and particularly that of protecting the oppressed. . . . Telling them their *commerce* will be advantaged by our success and that it is their *interest* to help us, seems as much as to say, 'Help us and we shall not be obliged to you.' Such indiscreet and improper language has been sometimes held here by some of our people, and produced no good effect." (March 4, 1782.)

Then came the day, October 19, 1781, when Cornwallis sur-

rendered at Yorktown to the combined forces of Washington, Rochambeau, and Admiral de Grasse. Remembering Burgoyne, Franklin wrote to John Adams (November 26, 1781): "The infant Hercules in his cradle has now strangled his second serpent and gives hopes that his future history will be answerable." Which remark he caused to be embodied in a medal struck at the French Mint for "Libertas Americana" and in which France appears as an armed Minerva, with fleurs-de-lis on her shield.

Independence was now certain, but it had to be made secure by treaty. Rochambeau remained for one year more in America, so as to be ready for any emergency; negotiations went on in the meantime, and this was for Franklin the most difficult part of his mission in France. The English were making secret advances to the two allies, in order to bring about a separate peace, and be freer to deal with the other party. They proposed ample advantages to France who refused them and concerning which Franklin wrote to John Adams: "I understand that several sacrifices were offered to be made, and among the rest, Canada to be given up to France;" in the answer sent to the British "there is a sentence which I much liked, viz 'that whenever the two crowns should come to treat, His Most Christian Majesty would show how much the engagements he might enter into were to be relied on by his exact observance of those he already had with his present allies.' " (April 17, 1782.)

Both Vergennes and Franklin were against any treaty being signed without the "formal consent" of the two allied nations. In a memoir to the king, of the twenty-seventh of May, Vergennes insisted, saying: "The hour is a decisive one. . . . The fame of your Majesty's reign will depend on the decision you will take." Far from desiring to impose on the Americans conditions not of their own choosing, he wrote three days later to the English envoy Grenville: "What con-

cerns America must be taken up directly with the United-States, not France."

But the chief associates whom Congress had now given Franklin, for the negotiations, Jay and Adams, were of a different mind. Ready to suspect the worst from the French, unwilling to take the slightest account of the difficulties with which Vergennes had to cope, forgetting that, at that very moment France, in spite of her own penury had remitted "the whole arrears of interest to this day (of the American debt) and from thence to the date of the Treaty of Peace," whatever be that date,[6] they blackened as much as possible the Government which had faithfully stood by them, asserted that it wanted to prevent any expansion inland of the newborn States; and leaving, contrary to their instructions, Franklin, Vergennes, and Congress in the dark, they initiated secret *pourparlers* with England in view of an agreement to be concluded, without the "consent" of the other party. Jay even went to the length of advising the British "immediately to cut the cords which tied (the United States) to France": which was on his part to break and forsake the treaty to which the States owed their existence.[7]

Concerning the unfavorable surmise of the two negotiators, Franklin when he knew them expressed himself thus: "I will only add that, with respect to myself, neither the letter from Mr. de Marbois, handed us through the British negotiators (a suspicious channel),[8] nor the conversations respecting the fishery, the boundaries,[9] the royalists etc. recom-

6. Art. III of the agreement signed by Vergennes and Franklin, July 16, 1782.

7. To Livingston, November 17, 1782, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution,* ed. Sparks (Boston, 1829), VIII, 166.

8. The letter, captured and imperfectly translated by the English was authentic, but as Vergennes pointed out, Marbois, then a mere secretary to La Luzerne, had no power to express the opinion of the Government, who had in fact a different one on those matters.

9. Concerning the boundaries Jay had referred the British to "our charters" (same report to Livingston); Rayneval, the spokesman of Vergennes in London,

mending moderation in our demands are of weight sufficient in my mind to fix an opinion that this court wished to restrain us in obtaining any degree of advantage we could prevail on our enemies to accord."[10] France was to show, in any case, some years later, that she was far from deprecating increase inland of American territory, when, being asked for New Orleans, she ceded to the United States the immense regions then called Louisiana, the determining factor being not the prospect of an indemnity (which did not even represent the value of the French state property thus relinquished),[11] but a desire, as was explained then, to help to be great a nation which France had helped to be free. "It is from to-day," said Livingston when signing the Louisiana treaty, which carried the American frontier "to the great Pacific Ocean," "that the United States take their place among the Powers of the first rank."

The outcome of the secret negotiations was the signing on November 30, 1782, of "Provisional articles . . . for treating of Peace" and Franklin who had been persuaded by his fellow commissioners, Adams, Jay, and Laurens, to add his signature to theirs, had to explain to Vergennes how all this had occurred. He pointed out that the articles were only provisional, and that they would not be transformed into a defini-

had suggested in the same way to Lord Shelburne, on the eighteenth of September, 1782, that the best plan was for the English to abide by the charters they had granted themselves to their former-day colonies. Rayneval's report to Vergennes, in Doniol, *Participation de la France,* V, 133.

10. To Livingston, July 22, 1783.

11. The state lands which the American Government will thus acquire "will have in less than a century, a value of several billions." Barbé-Marbois (one of the signers of the Treaty of April 30, 1803), *Histoire de la Louisiane,* 1829, p. 315. When he decided to exempt America from the rules of the "continental blockade," Napoleon recalled that he "had been happy to contribute to the increase of the United States and that, in every circumstance, all that might augment their prosperity and insure their happiness would be regarded by him as linked with his own interests and dearest affections" (letter of the duc de Cadore, written by his order to the American Minister, Armstrong, August 2, 1810). The draft, with corrections in the hand of the emperor, is in the Archives of the Affaires Etrangères, Paris.

tive treaty before one with France had been agreed to; he renewed assurances of everlasting gratitude and friendship.

Offended as he was, Vergennes would not jeopardize the monument he had been raising for years at such risks and pains. He accepted Franklin's explanations and yielded to his instant prayer that "this misunderstanding be buried in silence and oblivion." He even granted Congress one more loan of six million livres, "though this is a heavy effort to make, after five years of a war the expenses for which have been and continue to be enormous, and whose end we are not sure is in sight."

Peace came, however; the definitive treaty between England and the States was signed in Paris on the morning of the third of September, 1783, and between England and France at Versailles at a later hour on the same day, the French Minister having desired not to sign before he knew that the American case was finally settled. On the French negotiations and their future outcome Franklin had written to Secretary of State Livingston: "The judgment you make of the conduct of France in the peace, and the greater glory acquired by her moderation than even by her arms, appears to me perfectly just." (July 22, 1783.)

This moderation was in his eyes the harbinger of that perpetual peace among men for which he had ever longed. "I wish to see," he had said, in the midst of the War of Independence, "the discovery of a plan that would induce and oblige nations to settle their disputes without first cutting one another's throat. When will human reason be sufficiently improved to see the advantage of this?"[12] He would certainly have been interested in the present League of Nations and the Permanent Court of Justice.

Suffering from gout and stone, and suffering also from the hostile attitude of his fellow negotiators, Franklin had, on

12. To Richard Price, February 6, 1780.

several occasions, asked to be relieved of his functions, but had been persuaded to continue them. He remained two more years in France, during which, besides a treaty of amity and commerce with Sweden which he had signed on April 3, 1783, he signed one with Prussia, on July 9, 1785; he continued as popular as before and tried to render perpetual that friendship between the two nations which he had sincerely at heart. "I hope," he wrote to Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, "that the endeavors of some persons on both sides of the water to sow jealousies and suspicions and create misunderstandings between France and us will be ineffectual." (April 16, 1784.)

Other learned societies elected him a member, the Academy of Lyons being one of them. He was notified of his unanimous election by Mathon de la Cour, a man after his own heart, who was spending his knowledge and fortune for the benefit of the many. "We all feel," wrote Mathon, "and we feel deeply how much honor a name like yours confers upon a literary society whose principal object is the study of the natural sciences . . . in which at every step we meet monuments consecrated to your discoveries."

This intercourse with Mathon de la Cour was to have, strangely enough, consequences of interest for the cities of Boston and Philadelphia. This *Lyonnais* was the author of a book called *Le Testament de Fortuné Ricard,* a sort of "bagatelle" in the spirit of Franklin himself, telling how Ricard having received from his grandfather twenty-four livres, when he was eight, placed them at compound interest, and could dispose of five hundred when he made his will, being then seventy-four. He prescribed that part of the money be used after a hundred years for philanthropic work; the rest placed at compound interest would produce over two billion livres in two hundred years and nearly four thousand billion in five. All mankind would benefit by it; every public

debt was to be paid off, wonderful public works undertaken all over the globe, all material distress would disappear, large sums would be allotted as a recompense to countries observing peace. In a letter of the eighteenth of November, 1785, Franklin informed his correspondent that he had decided to follow the example of Fortuné Ricard: hence the famous codicil to his will bequeathing, in the hope of immediate good and of enormous subsequent advantages, one thousand pounds sterling to each of the two cities of Boston and Philadelphia: a hope which the event did not entirely fulfil.

The last great event witnessed by Franklin before his return home, and which made a very deep impression on his mind, was the invention of the balloon by the brothers Montgolfier, almost immediately perfected to an astonishing degree by the physicist Charles. He witnessed the ascent from the Tuileries Gardens of the balloon filled with hydrogen, mounted by Charles and Robert on the first of December, 1783: "Between one and two o'clock all eyes were gratified with seeing it rise majestically from among the trees . . . a most beautiful spectacle." A "car" was attached to it, "with a little table to be placed between them on which they can write and keep their journal; that is take note of everything they observe, the state of their thermometer, barometer, hygrometer. . . . They say they have a contrivance which will enable them to descend at pleasure." This was the *soupape* or valve.

Franklin realized at once the immense possibilities of the new invention: "True, these machines must always be subject to be driven by the wind. Perhaps mechanic art may find easy means to give them progressive motion in a calm and to slant them a little in the wind." This discovery may very well be "the commencement of a new epoch." It "may possibly give a new turn to human affairs. Convincing sovereigns of the folly of wars may perhaps be one effect of it, since it will

be impracticable for the most potent of them to guard his dominions." As for deriders, he derided them, reminding them that Beings "of a nature far superior to ours have not disdained to amuse themselves with making and launching balloons, otherwise, we should never have enjoyed the light of those glorious objects that rule our days and nights, nor have had the pleasure of riding round the sun ourselves upon the balloon we now inhabit."

At length, his task being ended and his health still failing, Franklin, now in his eightieth year was authorized by Congress to return. The regret in France was universal. Passy was in tears. The king made him a gift thus mentioned in his will: "The King of France's picture set with four hundred and eight diamonds, I give to my daughter Sarah Bache, requesting however that she would not form any of those diamonds into ornaments either for herself or daughters and thereby introduce or countenance the expensive, vain and useless fashion of wearing jewels in this country." Mrs. Bache obeyed the order; she sold the chief diamonds and they covered the expenses of a journey to Europe of herself and her husband. It would, however, be rash to pretend that her abstemiousness had all the effect hoped for by her father.

Franklin's possessions were sent to Havre by water; they consisted of 128 cases, plus two Angora cats; whether from Madame Helvetius' supply is not known. His printing press had been carefully packed by his younger grandson, destined to be a printer in his turn, and who had received lessons from the best master of the art in Paris, Didot, *l'ainé,* the founder of the house of Firmin Didot, still prosperous.

As traveling in a coach was fatiguing for him, one of the royal litters carried by "two very large mules" was placed at his disposal. The journey began on July 12 at four in the afternoon; it was made at a walking pace, so that it took Franklin more days to reach Havre than hours are now

needed. At each place where he stopped, he was acclaimed by the population, visited by the authorities, addressed by the learned societies. Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld invited him to his castle of Gaillon, declaring "that he would take no excuse; for being all powerful in his archbishopric (of Rouen), he would stop us *nolens volens* at his habitation. . . . We consented." At Rouen, "a deputation of the Academy came with their compliments which were delivered in form. . . . We had a great company at dinner. . . . We drank tea there, awkwardly made for want of practice." On the eighteenth the party reached Havre, then sailed for Southampton, and from thence, on the twenty-seventh, for America, in the company of the sculptor Houdon who had been commissioned by the state of Virginia to make a statue of Washington: the famous one now at Richmond. On the fourteenth of September, we read in Franklin's journal, "with the flood in the morning, came a light breeze, which brought us in full view of dear Philadelphia. . . . We landed at Market Street Wharf where we were received by a crowd of people with huzzas and accompanied with acclamations quite to my door. Found my family well. God be praised and thanked for all his mercies."

When, five years later, the news came to France, where the Great Revolution had begun, that, after having to the end continued to serve his country and mankind, having never forgotten his French friends with whom he had remained in active correspondence, Franklin had breathed his last (April 17, 1790), the emotion was profound. Mirabeau pronounced his famous address which the National Assembly ordered should be printed, at the same time voting a three days' mourning, and deciding that its President, Sieyès, would send a letter of condolence to Congress. The letter, which the American assembly duly answered, was an eloquent one, ending thus: "May the individuals of the two nations connect

themselves by a mutual affection, worthy of the friendship which unites the two men at this day most illustrious by their exertions for liberty, Washington and Lafayette."

The memory of the departed sage, still remarkably popular in France today, where many towns have their Franklin Street, was honored in several French cities, but especially Paris where a number of solemn and unexampled celebrations took place, one arranged by the "Commune de Paris" in which Abbé Fauchet delivered a pompous but yet eloquent oration;[13] the duc de la Rochefoucauld addressed the "Société de 1789"; Condorcet, the Academy of Science. The manifestation which would have perhaps pleased Franklin most was that of the printers of the capital. Remembering that he had been one of them, they arranged a meeting in a hall of the former convent of the Cordeliers. The bust of the famous American, crowned with foliage, was in the center, and, before it, lay a printer's tools. A member of the corporation read an address that typesetters composed as it was delivered; and when the ceremony was over, texts printed before their eyes were presented to all the spectators.

In April, 1906, in "dear Philadelphia," to use Franklin's words, was celebrated a ceremony of a very different character, which had drawn an immense concourse of people. Congress had decided that, on the occasion of the two hundredth anniversary of the great man's birth, a medal would be struck and one single impression in gold be offered to the Republic of France. Appointed for that object by President Roosevelt, the Secretary of State, Mr. Elihu Root, made the presentation in the presence of a vast gathering of men and women, of

13. "Une grande nation, étonnée de se voir libre, embrasse, d'une extrémité de la terre à l'autre, la première nation qui l'est devenue: les fondemens d'une cité nouvelle sont jetés dans les deux mondes; peuples frères, hâtez-vous de l'habiter; c'est la cité du genre humain." *Eloge civique de Benjamin Franklin, prononcé le 21 juillet, 1790, . . . au nom de la Commune de Paris, en présence de l'Assemblée Nationale,* etc., Paris, 1790.

what was most brilliant and eminent in the United States. The medal, "in American gold, as was Franklin," the Secretary observed, was the work of the brothers Saint-Gaudens. Addressing the representative of France, in a speech of the briefest and most memorable, Mr. Root said: "Take it for your country as a token that with all the changing manners of the passing years, with all the vast and welcome influx of new citizens from all the countries of the earth, Americans have not forgotten their fathers and their fathers' friends.

"Know by it that we have in America a sentiment for France; and a sentiment, enduring among a people, is a great and substantial fact to be reckoned with."

Years after, in the midst of the most terrible commotion the world had ever endured, Mr. Root meeting the same ambassador said to him: "Do you remember how I once spoke in Philadelphia of a sentiment surviving among our people? Here it is, at work."

And it was. America had entered the war.

COPYRIGHT LIBRARIES

BY SIR FREDERIC G. KENYON

THE Royal Commission on National Museums and Galleries now sitting in England has, among the questions explicitly referred to it, to consider the working of the Copyright Act, which provides that one copy of every book published in the United Kingdom shall be delivered to the British Museum, while five other libraries (the Bodleian at Oxford, the Cambridge University Library, the Scottish National Library, Trinity College, Dublin, and, with certain reservations, the National Library of Wales) have the right to claim every such book if they choose to do so. A note on the policy and practice of copyright libraries may therefore not be out of place at this time in a tribute offered to the librarian of the national copyright library of America. I shall not refer, however, since I am not competent, to the problem as it may exist in America, but only to the position as it is in Great Britain.

It will be seen that the position of the British Museum is different from that of the other libraries. The British Museum must receive every book (and the term "book" is so defined as to include practically every kind of printed matter), and by the law of its constitution it can part with nothing that it has received. The other libraries need not take every book, and there is nothing in their constitutions that forbids them to part with what they have received. The problem, therefore, has two parts: (1) Is it desirable that there should be one library in the United Kingdom which is obliged to receive and to retain every book, newspaper, or other piece of printed matter that is published? and (2) Is it desirable that there should be five other libraries which

have the right to claim every book that they desire? The two questions are quite distinct. Let us take the British Museum first. Its position is that of the national library in every country, and the considerations relating to it are the same in principle, if not in practice.

Those who desire to restrict the intake of the British Museum have two main arguments: First, that unrestricted reception means that a great quantity of rubbish is preserved; and, second, that, at the present rate of the output of books and newspapers, the problem of accommodation is, or must soon become, insoluble. Is it worth while to incur great expense in order to house masses of rubbish? The answer to this question is, I believe, Yes. I believe it is, on the whole, worth while to have at least one library in the country in which the searcher may be practically certain to find anything that he wants, however slight its original or its intrinsic value.

The method of demonstration may be that so dear to Euclid, which consists of assuming the contrary and proving that it is impossible or absurd. If there is not to be universal acceptance, there must be selection. Selection must be in the hands of the most highly trained and widely gifted members of the staff; consequently these most valuable members of the staff must spend a considerable part of their time in examining and rejecting the least valuable products of the press. I believe something of the sort is actually done at the Library of Congress, but English libraries are less generously staffed than American, and I should grudge the devotion of a considerable portion of my own time or that of my senior colleagues to so soul-destroying an occupation. But even if the welfare of our country required that every librarian, in proportion to his competence to judge, should be sacrificed on this altar, the result would be doomed to failure, for the simple reason that no one, however competent, can decide

what the interests and requirements of future ages may be. Much that is rubbish now may have a value hereafter; much that will always be rubbish will nevertheless acquire an interest. The first works of a great author do not always distinguish themselves from the ruck. No selection committee could have failed to reject the early romances of Shelley, *Zastrozzi, St. Irvyne,* and the rest. They were rubbish, and they are rubbish; but as the output of Shelley's mind they have a historical and psychological interest, and if a copy comes into the market today it has to be redeemed for thousands of dollars. It is historical fact that, since the Copyright Act was not rigidly enforced in those days, none of them was in fact claimed by the British Museum, and they have had to be acquired since. There are worse skeletons in our cupboard than this. Neither the original periodical issues of *David Copperfield* nor those of its contemporary *Pendennis* were acquired by the Museum under the Copyright Act. Those of *David Copperfield* were subsequently obtained by bequest; those of *Pendennis* are still lacking. Had *Alice in Wonderland* appeared at that date, it is more than probable that it would have been passed over; and we have seen what that would mean in terms of cash today. Large sums of money have had to be spent to make good the gaps caused by the lax administration of the Copyright Act before the days of Panizzi. The university libraries of Oxford and Cambridge have always been compelled, for lack of space and funds, to exercise selection; and the result is that scholars repeatedly have to seek the British Museum for books which they cannot find at their universities. In short, the advocates of selection must make up their minds that many books will inevitably be missed, the absence of which will subsequently be regretted; and gaps will be formed which will have to be made good at considerable cost.

Further, it is not always for their intrinsic merits that books

are required. During the late war an inquiry was received from the Admiralty for a copy of a certain edition of the poems of Thomas Campbell. It was not in any sense an important edition. It was just a cheap reprint, and under any system of selection would certainly have been rejected. However, it had been received under the Copyright Act and was forthcoming; and it was found to contain the key to a cipher that had been employed for communication with the enemy. Even my own limited experience as a student shows that the most out-of-the-way books are occasionally wanted, and no human foresight is capable of drawing the line between acceptance and rejection with certainty.

So far, then, as the principal national library (in our case the British Museum) is concerned, I believe there is an irresistible case for the acceptance and retention of everything; and when the leading learned societies were recently consulted by the Royal Commission, their answers were overwhelmingly to this effect. The problem of housing is admittedly serious; but when it is a matter of simple storage, a vast quantity of books can be stored in a comparatively small space. Moreover, even if (*per impossibile*) that which is and always will be useless were rejected, the percentage of the whole could not be great, and the only result would be that the accommodation which now lasts for fifty years might perhaps suffice for sixty. So far as space is concerned, the gain would not counterbalance the certain loss of much that would eventually be regretted.

With regard to the other copyright libraries, the arguments both for and against are different. It is no longer a matter of maintaining a national library in which practically every book, periodical, and newspaper published in the United Kingdom may be found, but of a national subsidy to five selected libraries in important and historic seats of learning. None of them claims or aims at completeness. Some sections

of literature, such as fiction, are but slightly represented in them. Neither newspapers nor periodicals are claimed to anything like their full extent. Their aim may be presumed to be the maintenance at the two old universities and in the representative centers of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales of libraries which will contain all the literature necessary for study and research.

Of the value of these libraries and of the good use made of them there is no question. Oxford and Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Trinity College, Dublin,[1] are national assets, with great traditions behind them, while the new library at Aberystwyth is a tribute to the national spirit of Wales. Their importance is not local but national. It is to the interest of the country that these great seats of learning should be maintained and should have at their disposal all the necessary machinery of research. Their own resources would not suffice to maintain them at the high level that is required; and this contribution of books is one way in which the nation can give them the support they need.

It may be said, and it is said, that it is hard on publishers and on authors that they should be taxed to support these favored libraries. I find it difficult to sympathize with this argument. The great libraries are the backbone of the whole trade of book production. Without them, not only the higher branches of literature, which give dignity and support to the rest, but all the lesser branches likewise would dwindle and wither; and authors and publishers would be the first to suffer. This tax on book production, to maintain the sources from which book production springs, is at least as justifiable as a tax on automobiles to maintain roads. Nor is the tax seriously burdensome (though publishers sometimes maintain

1. The position of Trinity College Library is now illogical. Ireland being a Dominion, there is no more reason for sending books published in Great Britain to its library than for sending them to Melbourne or Toronto.

the contrary). All that it means is that a publisher in fixing the price of a book has to allow for six copies to be given away gratuitously for this purpose. Similarly he has to allow for author's presentation copies and for review copies; and he takes care that the price to be paid by the public for the remainder shall carry the weight of these free copies. The copyright copies can only make a very small item in his total calculation, and can seriously affect neither his own profits nor those of the author.

I do not feel, therefore, that either the publisher or the author has a real grievance, or that they fail to receive a full equivalent for a tax which, after all, they recover, like other producers, from the public. The problem of the copyright libraries is, in truth, one of convenient practice rather than of principle. If it is advisable to maintain these libraries, is this the best way of doing it?

There is an argument for the maintenance of one or more great libraries in second line behind the British Museum, which has not yet been mentioned. Since the war, we have been compelled to face the fact, which previously did not enter into our calculations, that a great library may be wrecked in a few minutes. A simple calculation of probabilities would not put high the chance of escape of the British Museum or the Louvre or the National Library at Berlin in the event of another European war. There is a good deal to be said, from this point of view, for the maintenance of other libraries of the first rank, just as there may be in countries where catastrophes such as those of Tokio and San Francisco are possible.

I trust, therefore, that, whatever the Royal Commission may recommend, it will do nothing to weaken the position of the libraries which now enjoy the privileges of Copyright. It may be suggested that these privileges should be commuted for a money payment—that the taxpayer should support these libraries, and not the author, the publisher, or the book-

buyer. Any such proposal will be scrutinized with grave suspicion by the libraries concerned. There is a precedent which warns them to be careful. Formerly there were not six copyright libraries but eleven; but in 1836 the libraries of the Scottish universities, of the King's Inns, Dublin, and of Sion College in London commuted their rights for lump payments of varying amounts, calculated on the value of the books hitherto received. They might, of course, have been deprived of their privileges without compensation; but it is quite clear that the compensation actually received did not represent the value of the privilege as it would now stand, and the same would almost inevitably happen in any commutation that might be made today.

On the whole, the conclusion may well be that which is traditionally ascribed to Lord Melbourne, "Why can't you leave it alone?" The maintenance of five great libraries, in different parts of the Kingdom, has given the country institutions of which it is proud, and from which it derives no little benefit. The allowance to them of copyright copies secures this maintenance by means as little burdensome as can be conceived. It is true that it may involve them in difficulties in the matter of accommodation, and it is the fact that each one of these libraries is urgently demanding new buildings. That, however, is their affair; and unless they themselves ask to be relieved of their privilege and its accompanying obligations, the nation may well congratulate itself that it has, in addition to the British Museum, the university libraries of Oxford and Cambridge and the national libraries of Scotland and Wales.

HERBERT PUTNAM

BY FREDERICK P. KEPPEL

YEARS ago, when I was an administrative cub at Columbia, I was sent down to Washington upon an academic errand. Someone had given me a card to the Cosmos Club, and I was sitting at one of the small corner tables alone in the old dining room when somebody came in, quite evidently Somebody, but who, I hadn't the vaguest idea. The unknown man said, "Won't you come over and sit with me at the round table?" Soon the table was full. All through a most exciting evening, for me, he looked after me, guiding my feet along the slippery paths of Washington conversation, and it was not till the next day that I discovered that the Putnam of the night before was the Librarian of Congress. It was an act of spontaneous kindness I shall never forget, and I make no apology for recording it here; for it is so characteristic of the man we are now uniting to honor.

In April, 1917, I was again at the Cosmos Club, this time at breakfast. In came Herbert Putnam, who had decided on his morning walk to the library that on the whole he would be justified in supplementing his home breakfast by a plate of griddle cakes. As we sat together, he asked me what I was doing in Washington. I told him I was working for the Secretary of War. "What is the Department doing for books for the soldiers?" At first I thought he meant military books, but I was not long left in error. "This is a new kind of army, to be built out of a generation that has been taught to use the public library. You will have to supply them with books just as you do with clothing and food." I did the one thing it was in my power to do, arranged an appointment with Secretary Baker, and on the following morning these two

readers and scholars kept a room full of senators and diplomats and other dignitaries waiting while they laid the plans for that war-time service which gave the American Library Association its chance to show what it could do, an opportunity from which both the Association and the American people are still profiting.

Since then, I have seen him many times, as often, in fact, as I can bring it about. I have seen him presiding at his own Round Table at the Library of Congress, engaged in making some eminent European unconsciously abandon his assumption that he was in a land of intellectual exile. Or showing guests about the Library with an enthusiasm which age cannot wither nor custom stale. Or upon one of his periodic raids to New York, his bright eye even brighter with the excitement of the chase, perhaps for a rare book or perhaps for an even more elusive benefactor. Or in council with his professional brethren, equally courteous and equally attentive to the youngest in the group as to the eldest statesman.

The historian of the future will, I am confident, have much to say regarding the present American library movement. If, in speaking of Herbert Putnam and his part in that great movement, he deals only with an outstanding professional leadership, he will tell but half the story. Those who today enjoy Herbert Putnam's friendship must do their best, baffling as I for one am finding the task just now, to give some picture of a personality equally distinguished and of equal significance.

THE OPEN-SHELF LIBRARY

BY HARRY LYMAN KOOPMAN

AT the Lake Placid Conference of the American Library Association in 1894 I read a paper on "The Functions of a University Library." One of those functions, which I discussed at length, was the service of a library for general culture designed for undergraduates, which I called "The Student's Library." When the books of the Brown University Library were transferred to the John Hay Library building in 1910, this long-cherished project was put into operation. As the idea, though originating in connection with a university library, is much broader in application, I should like to restate the case for it in more general terms.

So long as the Brown University Library remained in the building in which I had received it from the hands of my predecessor, Dr. Reuben A. Guild, it was perforce an open-shelf collection. A single year's experience had convinced me that, though the library had not yet acquired a hundred thousand volumes, it was becoming unwieldy for the personal reading of undergraduates. They were losing their way. They could not select the books of most interest to them out of the bewildering mass by which they were surrounded. For students of a certain type, no doubt, browsing in a library of any size, however great, will be useful, perhaps even more beneficial than in a selection. But this will not be true for the great mass of readers. From an administrative point of view the annoyance of disarrangement—not to mention loss—on open shelves increases with the size of the collection, and equally with the number of readers.

College students may be taken as representing a high average of intelligent readers, and as the collection in mind is

not for research, but for private reading, we have not to concern ourselves with the problem of supplying the recondite lore demanded by investigators. The old-fashioned "gentleman's library" comes much nearer to what students need, yet it should be broadened in scope and made more popularly interesting. It may be well to state at this point what the library advocated is not.

It is not a browsing library, which is too small and is apt to be too narrowly cultural or bookloverish. It is not a collection of the latest books, for it has old and new both in books and editions. It is not a working library, for it contains no reference books. It is not a reserved book library for prescribed reading; rather, it is intended to supplement or counteract such a collection. It is not a standard library, which is too narrow in range and too highly selective as to quality. Neither is it a larger collection of the world's best books; this is rather an ideal that it tries not to lose sight of than one that it is bound closely to realize.

In forming our Student's Library, Mr. Earl N. Manchester, the reference librarian—now librarian of the State University of Ohio—joined me in the task of making the selection. The process was simplicity itself. We had decided upon something like fifteen thousand volumes; and so, with this number in mind, we went over the university library as it stood, proceeding from the beginning of the classification to the end. We picked out *currente oculo* from every shelf books that we thought would be interesting to the students and believed would well repay their reading. The resultant collection we placed on the shelves of the stack opening out of the reading room in the John Hay Library, and there they have formed an open-shelf library for eighteen years. We have steadily, though not largely, added to the collection and subtracted from it, always welcoming suggestions as to acces-

sions and withdrawals. It is intended that these books shall circulate freely, and in fact, their largest use has been outside the building.

Very interesting applications of the idea have been made by our public libraries. Branch libraries and small public libraries have almost uniformly open shelves, but in the main buildings of the larger libraries the percentage that have open shelves varies from 67 per cent in the class having 50,000 to 100,000 volumes to 12 per cent in those having more than 200,000. The point that applies to our present discussion is that the libraries departing from the complete open-shelf principle virtually all endeavor to preserve its benefits by open-shelf collections. Sometimes certain classes, like art, industry, or natural science, are wholly on open shelves with a selection from the rest of the classification; but certain libraries appear to have adopted the principle of a thoroughgoing representation from all classes.

These open-shelf collections in our larger public libraries range in size from 20,000 volumes at St. Louis, 23,000 at Seattle, 27,000 at Buffalo, and 30,000 at Chicago to 50,000 in the Pratt Institute Library in Brooklyn. This last would seem almost large enough to throw off a selected library from its own accumulations. Equally interesting is the proportional circulation from open and closed shelves. Reports show that it varies from 50 to 90 per cent. At Chicago, out of a circulation of 1,500,000 volumes from the Central Library, 60 per cent comes from the open-shelf library of 30,000 volumes. Mr. Roden, in explaining the situation, wrote: "This is accounted for in part by the fact that all copies of the new books are shelved in this section, where they remain for from three to six months, and in part by the natural preference of patrons for making their selections from the books themselves rather than from catalogs." In his report for 1927 he had al-

ready said: "A well organized open access collection of 50,000 to 100,000 volumes would doubtless prove equal to the demands of eighty per cent or more of our patrons."

As concerns the physical installation of the open-shelf library, the provision made at Brown is extremely convenient in location, being a stack opening out of the reading room. But a stack does not afford the ideal access to the books themselves. However, with our relatively small public, the passages in the stack have seldom been so crowded as to render access to the shelves inconvenient. Wall shelves or shallow alcoves in a sufficiently large room would seem to be the ideal arrangement both for display and for avoidance of crowding and obstruction, particularly in public libraries.

While the open-shelf library is more than a browsing collection, it may—to employ Carlyle's phrase—be browsed in at discretion. It should share with the ideal browsing collection the quality of physical attractiveness in both the room and the books. The latter requirement means for a public library frequent replacements and rebindings. The problem is not so serious in a university library where the metabolism is less rapid. In a public library the collection after eighteen years would naturally retain far less of its original self than is the case at Brown University. As a college changes its student public every four years, and as that public is relatively small, there is less need of changing the books in the student's library. All these matters are subject to local determination. The controlling principle is the formation and convenient placing of a selected open-shelf library in connection with every great library, whether of the university or the public type.

I have tacitly assumed that our college libraries and the branch libraries in our great systems already have such attractive, well-rounded selections as I have been advocating. The assumption appears to be not wholly justified, and a

vigorous plea was made by Miss Lucy E. Fay at the December meeting of the Eastern College Librarians for "a standard book collection for the undergraduate college library" in which, along with its outfit of reference books, reserved books, and books for professorial research, there should be a very carefully selected, all-round library for the students themselves. She went so far as to plead for a printed annotated catalogue of such a collection, and her proposition was recommended to the College and Reference Section of the American Library Association.

President Eliot cherished, as the student's chief benefit from the elective system, his acquaintance with a wide range of intellectual subjects on the chance that he might find thereby the subject that he was best fitted to pursue. It is possible that the open-shelf library may serve everywhere the same purpose quite as effectively as the college elective system. The reader, in roaming among these thousands of volumes set apart, may find some subject, unknown to him before, that will become the supreme interest of his life. In other words, he may develop a hobby that will rise to the dignity of a specialty. In the case of a young reader, it may determine his career in life.

In many instances the reader, inspired by his intimate contact with the open-shelf collection, is likely to set out on the acquisition of his own private library. This again is a result greatly to be desired in an age when so many forces are militating against high-grade home libraries. In any case, the reader has before him a varied and attractive collection of books to prompt and guide his private buying.

If the library is shelved in a separate room, it will require an attendant, who should be a trained adviser in the choice of books, but should never become a dictator, since that would defeat the purpose of the collection. Such a librarian would be a living annotated catalogue. In a college he might

be the professor of books and reading. No small advantage from the conspectus offered by the open-shelf library is that it enables the reader to view a library as a whole, to grasp what classification means, and so to realize the unity which pervades the variety of human knowledge.

The part played by such a library would not be unlike that of the finder or small telescope attached to the great telescope in an observatory. The finder gives a large field with low magnifying power. It is easy by means of it to locate a star. But when it has been centered on the desired point, then the greater power of the large telescope can be utilized to produce either a higher magnification of a single object or the revelation of a vastly greater number of objects in a narrow field. For most ordinary purposes the smaller telescope is a more practical instrument for viewing the heavens, but, when we wish to penetrate their depths, we resort to the larger instrument. In much the same way, the open-shelf library, with its low-power survey of a large field of knowledge, is more convenient for the ordinary reader than the great collection which, far exceeding ordinary needs, overwhelms his attention with a multitude of details. The little finder is no substitute for the great telescope; neither is the open-shelf library a substitute for the great collection behind it. Each has its own proper sphere. But the division has more to recommend it than mere convenience. The segregation of a representative selection of books is a procedure in the truest sense educational.

Brown University Library,
4 December 1928.

ZUR GESCHICHTE DER STAATSBIBLIOTHEK ZU BERLIN IN DEN LETZTEN DREISSIG JAHREN

VON HUGO A. KRÜSS

DIE vorliegende Festschrift soll die verdienstvolle Tätigkeit eines Mannes würdigen, der seit dreissig Jahren an der Spitze einer der grössten und bedeutsamsten Bibliotheken der Welt steht. Zeugnis für den Erfolg seines Wirkens ist die Entwickelung, die diese Bibliothek unter seiner Führung in dem gleichen Zeitraum erfahren hat. Es liegt nahe, diese Entwickelung in Vergleich zu stellen mit der Entwickelung, die andere, in ihrer Grösse und allgemeinen Aufgabe vergleichbare Bibliotheken in der gleichen Zeit genommen haben, und es möchte daher angebracht erscheinen, an dieser Stelle auch einiges aus der Geschichte der Berliner Staatsbibliothek während der letzten dreissig Jahre zu berichten.

Für die fünfzehn Jahre 1905 bis 1920 ist eine zusammenfassende Darstellung bereits vorhanden in der Schrift *Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staatsbibliothek,* die den Zeitraum der Amtstätigkeit Adolf von Harnacks als Generaldirektor umfasst.[1] Es ist nicht meine Absicht, diese Darstellung hier auf den dreissigjährigen Zeitabschnitt 1899 bis 1929 zu ergänzen. Ich möchte vielmehr aus diesem Zeitraum drei Momente herausgreifen, die für die Entwickelung der Staatsbibliothek von entscheidender Bedeutung gewesen sind und aller Voraussicht nach auch für ihre weitere Zukunft richtunggebend sein werden. Sie sind: die Übersiedelung der Staatsbibliothek in ihr jetziges Gebäude, die Überwindung

1. *Fünfzehn Jahre Königliche und Staatsbibliothek.* Berlin. Preussische Staatsbibliothek. 1921.

der Folgen des Krieges und der Inflation, und die Entwickelung der Staatsbibliothek zu einer Zentralbibliothek.

Die im Jahre 1659 vom Grossen Kurfürsten begründete "Kurfürstliche Bibliothek" wurde im Jahre 1661 in Räumen des Berliner Schlosses eröffnet. In diesen Räumen ist sie 120 Jahre bis zum Jahre 1780 verblieben, wo der für die nunmehrige "Königliche Bibliothek" von Friedrich dem Grossen errichtete Neubau gegenüber dem Opernhaus fertiggestellt war. In diesem Hause hat die "Königliche Bibliothek" unter der vom König ihr verliehenen Giebelinschrift "Nutrimentum Spiritus" weitere 130 Jahre gewohnt, bis sie im Jahre 1909 ihr jetziges Gebäude neben der Universität beziehen konnte.

Beim Tode ihres Begründers, des Grossen Kurfürsten, im Jahre 1688 zählte die Bibliothek bereits 20.000 Bände, beim Tode Friedrichs des Grossen im Jahre 1786 war sie auf 150.000 Bände angewachsen, und beim Umzug in das jetzige Haus 1909 stand sie vor der Aufgabe, 1.250.000 Bände in die neuen Magazine zu überführen. Heute enthält die Staatsbibliothek 2.200.000 Bände Druckschriften.

Die grundsätzliche Bedeutung des Plans für den Neubau lag in dem Entschluss, das neue Gebäude in unmittelbarer Nähe des bisherigen zu errichten. Bestimmend dafür war der Wunsch, den nahen örtlichen Zusammenhang mit dem sogenannten "Kulturzentrum" nicht aufzugeben, das durch die Universität und die Museen gebildet wird. Der zu gleicher Zeit erwogene Plan, auf weiter entferntes, eine freiere Gestaltung ermöglichendes Gelände zu gehen, wurde fallen gelassen. Dem grossen Vorteil, der sich aus der Nähe derjenigen Institute ergiebt, die an der Staatsbibliothek in erster Linie interessiert sind, steht damit der wesentliche Nachteil gegenüber, dass die Erweiterungsmöglichkeiten erheblich eingeschränkt sind, eine Sachlage, die in 20 bis 30 Jahren zu wichtigen neuen Entschliessungen führen muss.

Über die baulichen und technischen Einrichtungen des jetzigen Bibliotheksgebäudes sowie über die Art, wie der Umzug bewerkstelligt wurde, ist seinerzeit ausführlich berichtet worden.[2] Im neuen Hause gewann die Bibliothek neben dem hinreichenden Stellraum für ihren Bestand und dessen Zuwachs für eine ansehnliche Zahl von Jahren den auf 360 Arbeitsplätze berechneten Grossen Lesesaal, einen grossen Zeitschriftenlesesaal und in Verbindung mit beiden angemessene Räumlichkeiten für die Kataloge, zudem Arbeitszimmer für die Verwaltung und eine grössere Zahl von wissenschaftlichen Beamten, wie sie durch den gewachsenen Umfang des Betriebes notwendig geworden waren. Vor allem aber war nunmehr die Möglichkeit geboten, den Sonderabteilungen der Bibliothek die ihnen zukommende Ausgestaltung zu Teil werden zu lassen. Die Handschriftenabteilung, die Kartenabteilung, die Musikabteilung, die Orientalische Abteilung mit der Ostasiatischen Abteilung und die als letzte neugeschaffene Lautabteilung haben ihre eigenen, in sich abgeschlossenen Raumbezirke mit eigenen Lesesälen und Arbeitsräumen. Daneben finden sich, ebenso räumlich für sich abgeschlossen, die Leihstelle für die Ausgabe der zum Mitnehmen in die Wohnung verliehenen Bücher und das Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken mit dem Gesamtkatalog.

Die Staatsbibliothek hat von dem Gesamtgebäude, das eine Grundfläche von 17.000 qm bedeckt und einen selbständigen von vier Strassen eingeschlossenen Block bildet, nur etwa zwei Drittel zum eigenen Gebrauch. Sie teilt das Haus mit der Akademie der Wissenschaften und mit der Universitätsbibliothek, die gegenwärtig einen Bestand von über 400.000 Bänden zählt. Ausserdem befinden sich noch einige kleinere wissenschaftliche Institute im gleichen Hause.

2. P. Schwenke, "Der Neubau der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin." *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 25, 1908, S. 1-18. P. Schwenke, "Der Umzug der Königlichen Bibliothek." *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 26, 1909, S. 163-176.

Der Fassungsraum der Magazine des jetzigen Gebäudes ist auf 2.900.000 Bände berechnet. Staatsbibliothek und Universitätsbibliothek zusammen haben gegenwärtig einen Bestand von 2.600.000 Bänden. Der jährliche Zuwachs beider beträgt rund 100.000 Bände. In drei Jahren wird sonach der verfügbare Stellraum besetzt sein, und die Anzeichen dafür machen sich bereits an vielen Stellen bemerkbar. Die Schaffung neuer Magazine ist daher eine dringende Notwendigkeit, und die Pläne dafür sind in Vorbereitung.

Eine Erweiterung, wie sie jetzt erforderlich wird, ist in den ursprünglichen Plänen des Gebäudes bereits vorgesehen. An acht Stellen der Innenhöfe sind die Fundierungen für neue Aufstockungen und die Errichtung neuer Magazinflügel schon vorhanden, sodass der Erweiterungsbau keinerlei bautechnische Schwierigkeiten bieten wird. Der auf diese Weise neu zu gewinnende Magazinraum wird etwa 2.000.000 Bände aufnehmen können. Sofern der jährliche Zuwachs der Staatsbibliothek und der Universitätsbibliothek auf der jetzigen Höhe von 100.000 Bänden bleibt, wird daher das Gebäude noch etwa 20 Jahre den Bücherstrom in sich aufnehmen können.

Ob nach Ablauf dieser Zeit, die im Leben einer Bibliothek nur eine kurze Spanne bedeutet, an der jetzigen Stelle Raum für weiteren Zuwachs geschaffen werden kann, ist zweifelhaft, weil die Fundierungen die Aufstockung des Gesamtgebäudes zu einem Hochhaus nicht gestatten werden. So ist die Staatsbibliothek mit ihrer weiteren Zukunft vor das gleiche Problem gestellt, wie andere grosse Bibliotheken, die, wenn sie ihre Lage im Zentrum grosser Städte beibehalten wollen, früher oder später sich werden entschliessen müssen, einen Teil ihrer Bestände auszuscheiden und in besonderen, leicht zu erweiternden Magazinbauten an der Peripherie der Stadt unterzubringen.

Die Staatsbibliothek hatte sich in ihrem jetzigen Gebäude

noch nicht endgültig eingerichtet, als der Krieg ausbrach. Was der Kriegszustand für die Beschaffung der ausländischen Literatur bedeutet hat, haben wohl alle Bibliotheken, einerlei auf welcher Seite sie standen, mehr oder weniger in gleichem Masse erfahren. Die Staatsbibliothek, der als besondere Aufgabe die Sammlung der ausländischen Literatur gesetzt ist und die weit über die Hälfte ihrer Mittel darauf verwendet, wurde in besonderem Masse durch den Abschluss vom Auslande betroffen. Und dieser Abschluss fand mit dem Aufhören der eigentlichen Kriegshandlungen nicht sein Ende, denn als die Grenzen sich dem gegenseitigen Warenaustausch wieder öffneten, begann die Entwertung des deutschen Geldes, die mit ihrem Fortschreiten dem Kauf der ausländischen Literatur aus den Mitteln der Bibliothek immer engere Grenzen setzte. So hat der Krieg mit seinen unmittelbaren Folgen für die Staatsbibliothek von 1914 bis 1923, dem Jahre der Stabilisierung der deutschen Währung, das heisst beinahe zehn volle Jahre gedauert.

Der Gesamtzuwachs der Staatsbibliothek belief sich im letzten Friedensjahr 1913 auf 60.000 bibliographische Bände. Er verminderte sich bis zum Jahre 1919, das nur einen Zuwachs von 34.000 Bänden, also beinahe nur die Hälfte aufweist, und stieg bis zum Ende der Inflations-periode im Jahre 1923 auf einen Jahreszuwachs von 47.000 Bänden. Von da ab ist dann ein schnelleres weiteres Zunehmen erfolgt. Im Jahre 1924 waren es bereits 74.000 Bände und im Jahre 1927 mehr als 80.000 Bände, womit der Zuwachs des letzten Vorkriegsjahres weit überholt ist.

Im Jahre 1913 entfielen auf den Gesamtzuwachs von 60.000 bibliographischen Bänden 18.000 Bände ausländischer Literatur. Diese Zahl ging im Jahre 1919 bis auf 4.600 Bände herab, also auf weniger als ein Viertel. Bis 1923 war sie bereits auf einen Jahreszuwachs von 12.000 Bänden wiederangestiegen. Von da ab hat sie in noch rascherem Masse als der Gesamt-

zuwachs zugenommen. 1924 waren es 33.000 Bände, 1925 38.000 Bände und 1927 nach Ausfüllung der empfindlichsten Lücken immer noch 25.000 Bände.

Noch stärker als bei der Gesamtheit der ausländischen Literatur hatte sich der Niedergang bei den ausländischen Zeitschriften ausgewirkt. Der Bestand von 3.240 ausländischen Zeitschriften, die die Staatsbibliothek vor dem Kriege durch Kauf erwarb, sank 1920 bis auf 420 herab, also auf etwa ein Achtel. Hierin lag wohl die am tiefsten gehende Einwirkung des Krieges auf den Bestand der Bibliothek, denn in keinem anderen Falle ist der Zwang zur Ausfüllung von Lücken so gross und unmittelbar, als wenn es sich um die Ergänzung unterbrochener Zeitschriftenreihen handelt, ganz abgesehen von der Bedeutung, die gerade die Zeitschrift in der Entwickelung der modernen wissenschaftlichen Literatur gewonnen hat. Heute ist der Bestand der Staatsbibliothek an laufend gehaltenen ausländischen Zeitschriften auf 5.650 angewachsen.

Die vorstehende Übersicht erweist, dass der tiefste Stand auf allen Gebieten im Jahre 1919/20 erreicht war. Obwohl die Inflationsperiode noch bis gegen Ende des Jahres 1923 währte, setzte der Wiederaufstieg, namentlich hinsichtlich der ausländischen Literatur, schon in den beiden vorhergehenden Jahren ein, dank den Massnahmen, die im Rahmen der "Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft" getroffen wurden.

Die "Notgemeinschaft der Deutschen Wissenschaft" ist im Jahre 1920 als Selbsthilfeorganisation von den deutschen Akademien, Universitäten, Technischen Hochschulen und einigen grossen wissenschaftlichen Vereinen gegründet worden, um "die der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Forschung durch die gegenwärtige wirtschaftliche Notlage erwachsene Gefahr völligen Zusamenbruchs abzuwenden." Als einer der drückendsten Notstände wurde sogleich das

Fehlen der ausländischen Literatur festgestellt und deren Beschaffung als unbedingt notwendige Voraussetzung für jegliche Förderung wissenschaftlicher Forschungsarbeit erkannt. Im Rahmen der Notgemeinschaft wurde unter dem Vorsitz des jeweiligen Generaldirektors der Staatsbibliothek ein Bibliotheksausschuss begründet, der seine nächste Aufgabe darin sah, in erster Linie die Lücken bei den ausländischen Zeitschriften zu ergänzen, und zwar zunächst in den Beständen der beiden grössten deutschen Bibliotheken, der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin und der Staatsbibliothek zu München. Im Laufe der Zeit hat sich die Fürsorge der Notgemeinschaft dann weiter ausgedehnt, indem nicht nur die Bibliotheken der Universitäten und sonstigen wissenschaftlichen Hochschulen miteinbezogen wurden, sondern neben den Zeitschriften auch die Lieferung sonstiger ausländischer Literatur übernommen wurde. Welche Bedeutung diese Hilfe für die Bibliotheken besitzt, mag daraus erhellen, dass der Aufwand der Notgemeinschaft für die einzelne Bibliothek bei der Staatsbibliothek etwa ein Fünftel, bei den Universitätsbibliotheken sogar fast ein Drittel der eigenen Vermehrungsfonds beträgt.

Die Notgemeinschaft hat aber ausländische Literatur nicht nur durch Kauf erworben, sondern sie hat in weitem Umfange auch Tauschbeziehungen mit dem Auslande angeknüpft, wodurch es möglich gewesen ist, Literatur aus der Kriegszeit und Nachkriegszeit zu beschaffen, die durch den Buchhandel nicht oder nur schwer erreichbar ist. Weiterhin ist die Notgemeinschaft in sehr wesentlichem Masse, namentlich in der Zeit des Tiefstandes der deutschen Währung, durch geschenkweise Zuwendungen vom Auslande unterstützt worden, und mit besonderem Dank soll gerade an dieser Stelle hervorgehoben werden, wie wertvolle Hilfe hierin von amerikanischer Seite geleistet worden ist.

Wenn die Staatsbibliothek bis heute einen grossen Teil

ihrer Kriegslücken wieder hat ausfüllen können, wenn ihr jährlicher Zuwachs an ausländischer Literatur und die Zahl der regelmässig gehaltenen ausländischen Zeitschriften sogar über die Zahlen des Jahres 1913 erheblich hinausgehen, so hat sie dieses allein der Tätigkeit der Notgemeinschaft zu danken. Im Grunde aber bedeutet die Notgemeinschaft mehr als eine aus der Not geborene und lediglich in ihr begründete Notorganisation. Sie hat mit ihrer Hilfstätigkeit zugleich eine rationelle Planwirtschaft entwickelt, die bei den preussischen Bibliotheken in ihren Grundzügen bereits vorhanden war und deren weitere Ausgestaltung der Gesamtheit der deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken von hohem Nutzen sein wird.

Dass diese Planwirtschaft unter den deutschen Bibliotheken in Preussen ihren Ausgang genommen hat, liegt an der besonderen Stellung, die Preussen im Reiche hat. Preussen ist ein Grossstaat im Grossstaat, denn es nimmt etwa zwei Drittel der Gesamtfläche des Reiches ein, während der Rest sich auf die 17 übrigen deutschen Länder verteilt. So haben die zentralen Institutionen Preussens von jeher eine besondere Bedeutung für das Reich gehabt, um so mehr als auf einzelnen Gebieten das Reich als solches sich nicht betätigt hat und Preussen die Aufgabe zufiel, mit seinen Institutionen für allgemeine deutsche Interessen einzutreten. Das trifft auch für das Bibliothekswesen zu und darauf beruht die Stellung, die die Staatsbibliothek im Laufe der letzten Jahrzehnte gewonnen hat, obwohl sie im engeren Sinne die preussische Staatsbibliothek ist.

Die Staatsbibliothek ist aber mit ihren 2.200.000 Bänden und ihrem jährlichen Zuwachs von 80.000 Bänden nicht nur die grösste deutsche Bibliothek, sondern sie ist zugleich der organisatorische Mittelpunkt eines Bibliothekssystems, das aus den zehn preussischen Universitätsbibliotheken und den Bibliotheken der vier preussischen Technischen Hochschulen

besteht. Aus dieser Einheit sind im Laufe der Zeit einheitliche Regelungen in wichtigen Fragen des Bibliotheksbetriebes und Einrichtungen entstanden, die den Nutzeffekt der einzelnen Bibliothek wie den der Gesamtheit wesentlich erhöhen, Einrichtungen, die in ihrer Wirkung auch über den Bereich der preussischen Bibliotheken hinausgehen und allen deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken dienen. Die Fortschritte, die diese Entwickelung in den letzten dreissig Jahren gemacht hat, sollen in nachstehender gedrängter Aufzählung kurz veranschaulicht werden.

Im Jahre 1895 wurde mit den Vorarbeiten für den mit der Staatsbibliothek verbundenen *Gesamtkatalog der Preussischen Bibliotheken* begonnen, der jetzt mit einem Bestand von 2½ Millionen Zetteln zum Druck gelangen soll. Im Zusammenhang mit dem *Gesamtkatalog* wurden 1898 die seit 1892 erschienenen *Berliner Titeldrucke* auf die Universitätsbibliotheken ausgedehnt, sodass sie seit 1898 den gesamten Zugang der Staatsbibliothek und der zehn preussischen Universitätsbibliotheken erfassen. Seit 1928 sind auch die Bibliotheken der vier preussischen Technischen Hochschulen hinzugetreten. Aus der Zusammenarbeit am *Gesamtkatalog* ergab sich weiterhin die Notwendigkeit der einheitlichen Aufnahme und Einordnung der Titel. Sie wurde gewährleistet durch die im Jahre 1899 erschienenen *Instruktionen für die alphabetischen Kataloge der preussischen Bibliotheken und für den Gesamtkatalog,* die in ihrer zweiten Ausgabe vom Jahre 1909 als *Preussische Instruktion* Verbreitung auch bei anderen deutschen Bibliotheken gefunden haben.

Um den *Gesamtkatalog* schon während seiner Entstehung nutzbar zu machen, wurde 1905 bei der Staatsbibliothek das "Auskunftsbureau der Deutschen Bibliotheken" begründet, das dem Nachweis gesuchter Bücher dient und dessen Wirkungsbereich weit über Deutschlands Grenzen hinaus-

geht. Neben seiner Hauptaufgabe hat es sich auch mit bibliographischen Arbeiten befasst. 1914 erschien vom Auskunftsbureau bearbeitet und herausgegeben das *Gesamt-Zeitschriften-Verzeichnis,* enthaltend 17.000 Zeitschriften, die von 350 deutschen Bibliotheken laufend gehalten wurden, 1921 das erste *Gesamtverzeichnis der ausländischen Zeitschriften,* das, dem damaligen Notstand entsprechend, nur 3.400 ausländische Zeitschriften in 360 Bibliotheken nachweisen konnte. Die im Jahre 1928 erschienene Neubearbeitung dieses Verzeichnisses enthält 15.000 Titel aus 1100 deutschen Bibliotheken.

Im Jahre 1907 wurde der "Beirat für Bibliotheksangelegenheiten" begründet, dessen Vorsitzender der jeweilige Generaldirektor der Staatsbibliothek ist und der jetzt aus zwölf bibliothekarischen Sachverständigen und Professoren zusammengesetzt ist. Der Beirat hat die Aufgabe, das Ministerium, dem die Bibliotheken unterstellt sind, in allen wichtigen Fragen gutachtlich zu beraten. Dem Beirat wurde zugleich die Beaufsichtigung der Arbeiten am *Gesamtkatalog* übertragen sowie späterhin die Regelung der Ausbildung des Nachwuchses für den wissenschaftlichen und den mittleren Bibliotheksdienst auf Grund der für die Gesamtheit der preussischen Bibliotheken bestehenden einheitlichen Ordnungen.

Im Jahre 1924 wurde durch Vereinbarung zwischen den deutschen Ländern der "Deutsche Leihverkehr" geschaffen. Dieser Organisation gehören zur Zeit 740 deutsche Bibliotheken an, die sich gegenseitig verpflichtet haben, jedes vorhandene Buch einer anderen Bibliothek leihweise zur Verfügung zu stellen. Die Staatsbibliothek ist einer der Hauptfaktoren dieses Leihverkehrs, indem nicht nur ihr Auskunftsbureau der Feststellung dient, wo sich ein gesuchtes Buch befindet, sondern indem sie in Ansehung ihrer

Grösse auch die Hauptlast des Leihverkehrs mit etwa einem Drittel der Gesamtzahl der im Deutschen Leihverkehr nach auswärts verliehenen Bände trägt, im Jahre 1927 mit 66.000 Bänden.

Seit 1885 giebt die Staatsbibliothek das *Jahresverzeichnis der an den Deutschen Universitäten und Hochschulen erschienenen Schriften* heraus, und der im Jahre 1904 begonnene, bisher mit den ersten drei Bänden erschienene *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* wird von ihrem Personal bearbeitet. 1925 hat sie eine systematische Zusammenstellung der im *Gesamtkatalog* verzeichneten Schriften über *Das Deutschtum im Ausland. 1900-1923.* veröffentlicht, 1927 eine Bibliographie *Das Deutsche Schrifitum über den Völkerbund. 1917-1925.* 1928 ist das erste Heft einer neuen periodischen Veröffentlichung erschienen *Deutsche Amtliche Druckschriften. Erwerbungen der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin.* 1927. Januar-Juni. Eine Bibliographie "Die Schuldenlast des Weltkrieges. Schlagwortbibliographie zur Literatur über die Interalliierten Kriegsschulden, die Reparationen und den Dawes-Plan. 1918-1928" steht unmittelbar vor dem Erscheinen. Eine "Bibliographie über das Schrifttum zur Frauenfrage" ist in Vorbereitung.

Aus dieser Übersicht dürfte erhellen, dass die Staatsbibliothek nicht nur die Zentralbibliothek der ihr angeschlossenen preussischen Bibliotheken ist, sondern dass sie im Laufe der Zeit manche Aufgaben übernommen und geleistet hat, die im Interesse aller deutschen Bibliotheken gelegen sind. Diese Entwickelung ist in den letzten dreissig Jahren stetig fortgeschritten. Sie hat manches entstehen lassen, was zunächst auf Preussen beschränkt geblieben ist, dessen Erweiterung auf die Gesamtheit aller deutschen wissenschaftlichen Bibliotheken aber eine mehr und mehr erkannte Notwendigkeit ist. In erster Linie gilt dies für den Gesamt-

katalog, und es ist zu hoffen, dass in gemeinsamer Zusammenarbeit daraus der "Deutsche Gesamtkatalog" in naher Zukunft entstehen wird.

Blicken wir zurück auf die letzten dreissig Jahre in der Geschichte der Staatsbibliothek, so dürfen wir an den zehn schweren Jahren nicht vorübergehen, die auf ihr gelastet haben und an deren Folgen sie auch heute noch zu tragen hat. Aber im Ganzen genommen sind diese dreissig Jahre eine Zeit des Vorwärtsschreitens gewesen. Die Staatsbibliothek hat das Glück gehabt, noch vor der Katastrophe ein neues Haus beziehen zu können, auf das sie zu späterer Zeit noch lange hätte warten müssen, sie hat mit dem Niedergang und Wiederaufstieg Deutschlands ihre Kräfte an einer oft hoffnungslos erscheinenden Aufgabe erfolgreich erproben können, und sie hat in stetiger Entwickelung durch die ganzen dreissig Jahre hindurch ihren Wirkungsbereich erweitern können, um damit nicht nur ihren unmittelbaren eigenen Interessen, sondern auch den Interessen eines sich mehr und mehr erweiternden Kreises anderer Bibliotheken zu dienen.

So darf sich die Staatsbibliothek in der ihr gesetzten Aufgabe verwandt fühlen mit der Aufgabe, die der grossen Bibliothek jenseits des Ozeans gestellt ist. Sie hofft, aus der Zusammenarbeit zwischen den beiden Bibliotheken, deren gegenseitige Beziehungen auf eine lange Vergangenheit zurückblicken können, auch in Zukunft Förderung zu erfahren, wie sie selbst bereit ist, alle ihr gebotenen Möglichkeiten in den Dienst dieser Zusammenarbeit zu stellen.

THE SOJOURN OF THE HARVARD LIBRARY IN CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1775-1776

BY WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE

IN looking about for a subject suitable for a contribution to this volume, I was struck with the idea that it might be worth while to sketch the various transmigrations of the Harvard Library as it passed from one to another of the earthly habitations provided for it in the course of its three centuries of existence. To cover the whole period would, however, occupy too much space. I therefore limit myself to trying to recover what details are still available with regard to one of the lesser, but one of the most unexpected, of these changes—the withdrawal of the College Library from Cambridge in 1775 to avoid the hazards of war, and its temporary installation in the towns of Andover and Concord. To these details I add passing glimpses of the other removals and upheavals which have disturbed the even course of its history.

The library—that is, the three hundred or more volumes brought over to this land by John Harvard and by him bequeathed to the newly founded College, with the books contributed by the magistrates and ministers, and the gifts of Sir Kenelm Digby and other early benefactors—was lodged in that ill-fated little building which has been the subject of so much speculation—the first Harvard College. Begun under the unfortunate Eaton, exposed to the weather too long before it was roofed in, and finished at last by the overburdened Dunster, it was "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg."[1] Repairs were soon needed, due to the "first evill

1. Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence*, 1654, pp. 164-165.

contrivall" of the building, and it became increasingly evident that a new building must be begun to take the place of the first one. By 1672 a new building of brick and stone was in prospect, "for the effecting wherof there is already a contribution made according to our low condition."[2] In August, 1674, the frame of the building was raised and in the summer of 1676 the library room at least was far enough finished for the books to be moved over. Treasurer Richards' Book (which long after was fortunately rescued from John Hancock's coach house when the Hancock house was torn down) tells us that on July 6, 1676, Daniel Gookin, librarian and one of the Fellows, was paid 4*s*. 6*d*. for "removing Bookes," and on August 31 a further sum of £2.10 "in satisfaction for his paines in removing the Library to the new Colledge and placeing them."[3] In the following May the Stewards of the building reported to the General Court that the library and one chamber were completely finished, but that floors, stairs, the greater part of the plastering, and the ceilings were still lacking.[4] Nevertheless, the Commencement of 1677 was held in the new building, and we read that "the old Colledge is part of it (besides the turret) fallen down."

Here in its new quarters we leave the little library of those early days, to be increased in the course of the following ninety years into a collection enriched by many gifts from benefactors in England and America—the library of the learned John Lightfoot, Vice Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; the books of Theophilus Gale, which for many years formed more than half of the College Library; the eight great chests of books sent by Sir John Maynard in

2. Commissioners of the United Colonies, September 9, 1672, in *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth*, 1859, X, 355.

3. Daniel Gookin's direct descendant in the eighth generation, Edward Locke Gookin, is at the present time a member of the library staff where for more than thirty years he has held a responsible position.

4. 2 *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, ix. 100.

1682; and the numerous donations of the Hollis family, of Isaac Watts, of Bishop Berkeley, and many others.

Practically the whole of these accumulations, amounting to about five thousand volumes, were swept away by the fire of 1764, and the collection had to start again at the beginning. It is interesting to note that the possibility of destruction by fire had been, once at least, in the thoughts of the Corporation. On March 21, 1737/8, it was voted: "That the Members of the Corporation in Town with Mr. Steward Bordman be a Committee to provide Boxes for the Books in the Library fitted with handles &c whereby the said Library may be Speedily & Safely removed in case of Fire."[5]

The gravity of the disaster which had overtaken the College was keenly appreciated far and near, and the donations and subscriptions which immediately began to flow in toward repairing the loss showed how deeply all classes were stirred. The story of how the library was built up again cannot be even touched upon in this paper. Harvard Hall was promptly rebuilt and in 1766 was ready to receive the books which had in the meantime been accumulating. How many volumes had been received by 1775, only nine years later, the date to which our attention is next directed, it is impossible to estimate accurately. In 1790 the library is said to have numbered thirteen thousand volumes, being nearly three times as large as the collection destroyed in 1764. In 1775, in the absence of precise records, we may hazard a guess that from four to five thousand volumes were at hand, though it may well be that many of the more valuable volumes lately received had not yet been duly incorporated in the library. The librarian, however, at this time was James Winthrop (son of Professor John Winthrop) a young man of energetic action, who would not have allowed books to lie about uncared for. In fact he printed in 1773 a select catalogue of the books more commonly in

5. College Book, no. IV, p. 205.

use (*"frequentiorem in Usum Harvardinatum, qui Gradu Baccalaurei in Artibus nondum sunt donati"*). This records almost two thousand volumes, but one can hardly judge the proportion of the books here catalogued to the total number in the library.

Immediately after Lexington and Concord (April 19) the tide of war flowed in up to the very doors of the College. Half-trained troops arrived daily and were quartered on the Common. The Provincial Congress met now in Concord, and now in Watertown or Cambridge, and it is easy to imagine in what an excited and restless atmosphere college work had to be conducted. With the necessity of occupying some or all of the college buildings for military or public purposes came the question of how to secure from harm the college property and especially the newly collected books and philosophical apparatus which occupied the second story of Harvard Hall. On June 14 the Provincial Congress, sitting in Watertown, appointed a committee "to devise some means for securing the library and apparatus of Harvard College," and on the next day the following resolve was read and accepted:

Whereas, it is expedient that those apartments in Harvard Hall, under the immediate charge of the professor of philosophy and librarian of Harvard College, be evacuated, Resolved, that the library, apparatus, and other valuables of Harvard College, be removed, as soon as may be, to the town of Andover; [and] that Mr. Samuel Phillips, Mr. Daniel Hopkins, and Dummer Jewett, Esq., be a committee to consult with the reverend, the president, the Hon. Mr. Winthrop and the librarian, or such of them as may be conveniently obtained, and with them to engage some suitable person or persons in said town, to transport, receive, and take the charge of the above mentioned effects; that said committee join with those gentlemen, in employing proper persons for packing said library, apparatus, and such other articles as they shall judge expedient, and take all due care that it be done with the greatest safety and despatch: and as the packages shall be completed, that they give notice to those engaged

to receive them: the charges to be laid before this, or some future Congress, or house of assembly of this province.[6]

On June 23 this vote was reconsidered, modified so far as to permit the college property to be taken either to Andover or "to such other places as they may think best," and passed again otherwise unchanged. In the meantime prompt action had been taken in the College Library. On June 17, while the librarian was engaged in that day's battle at Bunker Hill, Samuel Phillips of Andover, one of the committee mentioned above, was already at work in the College Library packing up the books. "Amid all the terrors of battle," he wrote, "I was so busily engaged in Harvard Library that I never even heard of the engagement (I mean the siege) until it was completed."[7]

It would be interesting to know to precisely what towns and houses the college books were conveyed but the college records, the Treasurer's bills and receipts, and the colony archives give only fragmentary information. At least four loads can be traced to Andover, three to the house of Mr. Samuel Osgood in North Andover, and one to the house of George Abbot, Esq., both prominent and respected citizens. Samuel Phillips certified to the work having been done under his order.[7] A subsequent vote of the Faculty, November 13, 1775, mentions several houses in Woburn, and from this and other later votes it is evident that the books became rather widely scattered.

In the course of the summer both Overseers and Corporation were inquiring in what way "the education of the youth in this Colony in piety and good literature [might] be carried on with as little interruption as may be" and on August 22 a committee was appointed by the Overseers "to repair to the Town of Concord and make enquiry, what number of stu-

6. *Journals of each Provincial Congress of Mass. 1774 and 1775*, 1838, p. 334.
7. S. L. Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 1880, pp. 334-335.

dents may be accommodated in that Town, and at what rates they can be boarded, and to make report on an adjournment of this Board." On September 6, the Committee reported: "That 125 Students may be boarded in said Town at the rate of 6/8 ℔ week, Fire-wood & Candles, washing & mending excepted." The report was accepted and it was voted "that this Board advise that the College be removed to Concord with all convenient speed."[8] The same day the President and Fellows, meeting at Mr. Cooke's house in Watertown, recorded the following minutes and votes:

The Overseers having recommended to this Board that the Students of Harvard College be collected together, as soon as may be convenient, at Concord in this Province, in consequence of the Report of the Committee of Enquiry chosen at the last Meeting, who inform that sd Town can make provision for the accommodation of the Students

Voted 1. That the President, by public advertizement, notify the Students of Harvard College to come together at Concord in this Province on the first Wednesday in October next, where all necessary provision is made for their reception, & they will have boarding & Chamber furniture at a reasonable Rate; & that at the aforesd Time & Place the President, Professors & Tutors will attend the usual Business & Instruction of the College.

Voted 2. That there be no Fall Vacation the present Year.

In the Faculty Records, October 10, "at a meeting of the Presidt, Profrs, & Tutors" we find the following record and votes:

By the present War into which the American Colonies have been driven to save themselves from Oppression & Despotism, the College has been several Months in an interrupted & dispersed State—But by the good Providence of God, the Society is at length collected in the Town of Concord, & restored to order, Wednesday the 4th Instant

8. Passages from the records of the Overseers, the Corporation, and the Faculty quoted in the following pages are not referred to by volume and page in footnotes, since they can readily be found in the original manuscript volumes preserved in the University Archives. "The Faculty," it should be noted, is a modern term. Down to 1811, its meetings are described as of the "President, Professors, and Tutors," and from 1812 to 1824 as of the "Immediate Government."

being the day fix'd by the Corporation & Overseers for the Students to meet in this place, they accordingly then began to make their appearance, & now make up about the number of one hundred.

Voted 1. In consideration of the distance many of the Students are obliged to reside at from the Centre of the Town, & the shortness of the days, that there be but two recitations in a day with the Tutors from this time during the Winter Season.

Voted 2. That Mr Gannett & Mr Wadsworth be a Committee to procure a Room for the placing of Books; to make Report at the next Meeting.

Voted 3. That Mr Hall take the Instruction of the Freshmen Class till farther Order, to hear them at such times only as is not incompatible with the instruction of the other Classes that attend him.

Voted 3. That all such Students as live in Taverns, remove from them to houses not used as Taverns; except such as shall for special reasons, be permitted by particular license from the Government of the College to continue.

Memm The Gentlemen Select Men & Comtee of the Town of Concord, on the Request of the Government of the College, have consented that the Meeting House, Court House, & School House, in sd Town be improved for the purposes of the Worship, Instruction &c of the College.

Lemuel Shattuck's *History of the Town of Concord*, printed in 1835, when the times of the Revolution were still remembered with vividness, gives us some details of the sojourn of the College in Concord. "President Langdon," he tells us (p. 120), "lived at Dr. Minott's (now the Middlesex Hotel); Professor Sewall lived at James Jones's; Professor Wigglesworth at the Bates place on the Bedford road; and Professor Winthrop at Darius Merriam's, near which was the library and philosophical apparatus; and other officers in different parts of the town. Twelve of the students boarded in the house now owned by Joseph Barrett, Esq., and others in many different places. The recitations were at the court-house and meeting-house. Prayers were attended at the latter place."

Further entries in the Corporation Records and the Fac-

ulty Records show that there were troublesome delays in making the books of the Library accessible,—delays not to be wondered at when one remembers the conditions under which they had been packed up and carted away the previous summer, and the disturbed state of all public affairs in Cambridge and about Boston.

On October 24 the President and Fellows at a meeting at Mr. Fowle's in Watertown

Voted—That as many Boxes of the Library Books as may be conveniently got together at Concord, where the Students of Harvard College are now collected, & accommodated for the pursuit of their Studies, be opened for the use of sd Students, as soon as the Librarian can remove to Concord & attend the duties of his office.

N. B. A scruple afterwards arising whether the Books, which have been removed by Order of Congress, cou'd be removd without the Generl. Court, an Order was obtain'd Novr. 7th by a resolve of Court.

Three weeks later the books are still in large part missing and on November 13, at a meeting of the President, Professors and Tutors, in Concord, it was voted

2. That the Boxes belonging to the Library & apparatus which are now at Dr Cummings's in this Town, & those at Mr Jon; Johnson's, Mrs Jones's, William Johnsons, Deacon Reeds, & Deacon Johnsons, at Woburn, be removed as soon as may be to Dr Winthrop's; and that the President be desired to employ Teams for this purpose assoon as may be.

Voted 3. That Mr Sewall & Mr Gannett be directed to procure boards & employ Carpenters to prepare the Room engaged at Mr Barretts, with Shelves & such conveniences as are necessary for the reception of the Books which may be selected for the more immediate use of the Students.

But there were still books left behind in Cambridge, and on December 18 Mr. Stephen Sewall, the Hancock Professor of Hebrew, Tutor Caleb Gannett, and the librarian, James Winthrop, were sent back to Cambridge to pack up whatever was left of the books and the philosophical apparatus and to

transport the whole to Concord, and at the same time to bring along the college fire engine. The vote read as follows:

Vote 2. That Mr Sewall, Mr Gannett, & the Librarian be a Committee to go to Cambridge, & pack up & remove the Remainder of the Apparatus, Philosophy Room, Library, & Musæum, to Concord, in the cheapest & safest manner they can: & likewise to remove the fire Engine belonging to the College, to the aforesd Town of Concord, or otherwise commit it to the Care of some trusty Person or Persons in Cambridge, who may secure it for the benefit of the College, & keep it in good Order.

On the same day it was voted

That the Revd Mr Emerson, agreable to his own offer now made to us, have full liberty to remove the College Clock from Cambridge to Concord, & put it up in the last mentioned Town, there to remain for the public benefit, so long as the College shall continue in sd Town.

As one examines the faculty records of this winter of 1775-76, one gets a somewhat vivid picture of the conditions of college life in Concord. In March one finds a reference to the "considerable number of students who failed of attendance on College exercises," and to the "perplexity & uncertainty at that time attending the state of public affairs & occasioning doubts in the minds of many Persons relative to the expediency of sending their sons to College under such disadvantages as many supposed must necessarily attend it at Concord." For such absences the records state that no students were to be called to account.

Later in the month (March 15) it was voted

That in consideration of the general inclemency of the weather & difficulty of travelling in the winter Season all absences from attendance on College exercises be excused to this 15th Instant: but that the Scholars be notified that for the future they may expect the Laws relating to College Exercises will be punctually executed.

Three days later, remembering what had happened in the meantime in Boston, it gives one a thrill to read the following votes:

Voted—1. That Bentley, Freeman 1mus, Bass, Greenleaf 2dus, Minot, Spooner, & Bourne, have leave of absence till Wednesday to go to Cambridge & Boston, as we have this day the joyful news that the Kings Troops have totally evacuated that Capital, & the aforesd Scholars have an earnest desire of seeing their Parents & Friends who have been long shut up in the Town.

Vote 2. That Storer & Fosdick also have leave of Absence for the same time.

Vote 3. That the Tutors respectively be impowered to grant permission to any Student, upon application, to be absent from College for two nights, & this power to continue thro' the present Week for the reason mentioned in the first Vote.

With the change in conditions in Cambridge and Boston the College naturally became restive in Concord, and the Faculty early began to consider the feasibility of returning. On May 13, 1776,

The Governors of the College having conferred on the Subject of the Removal of the College again to Cambridge, as the Scholars begin impatiently to expect it, desired the President, Mr Wigglesworth, & Mr Sewall, to inquire of the Committee appointed by the Genl Court to prepare the Colleges for the Reception of the Society, what powers they have receiv'd, what Information of Losses & Damages they may stand in need of, & how soon the necessary preparation may probably be made.—And that the Presidt &c do what they can to forward the Business.

On June 7 it was voted

That the President, Mr Sewall, & Mr Hall be a Committee to go to Watertown & Represent to the General Court the prevailing Discontent now appearing among the Students of the College on account of their being still detained at Concord, where they labour under many & great Inconveniences; especially as they cannot enjoy the Benefit of the Apparatus, which they regard as one of the greatest Privileges of the Society: And that the aforesd Committee use their best endeavors to obtain an Order or Resolve of the General Court for the speedy Removal of the College to Cambridge, together with so much of the Library & Apparatus as may be found immediately necessary for the Instruction & benefit of the Students.

On June 11 at a meeting of the Faculty in Concord it was

Voted. 1. That the President, tomorrow morning after Prayers, adjourn the College from Concord to Cambridge; there to meet & attend the usual Exercises on Fryday the 21st Instant.

Vote. 2. That the President be desired to provide Teams, & other things necessary for the Removal of the College, & take Care that the Removal be effected assoon as possible; & that all the Governors & Instructors present give him Assistance as they are able.

Memorandum (June 21) This Day the College came together again at Cambridge.

The difficulties experienced in getting the books and apparatus returned to Cambridge seem to have been no less than those incurred in removing them in the first place. A committee appointed by the President and Fellows September 3 to inspect the library and museum reported on September 30:

That the greater part of the Library not being returned since the Removal, & the Museum quite emptied, they cou'd know nothing more particularly of the State of either, but that a few Books borrowed by particular Persons were missing, & that they had directed the Librarian to make diligent Enquiry for them, & Report.

Even so late as November 9, 1778, at a meeting of the President and Fellows it was voted:

That the President and Mr. Gannett be a Comtee to inquire for & endeavor to recover the Boxes of Books &c belonging to the Library & Apparatus, which were removed in 1775 & have never been return'd.

In Treasurer Storer's Journal we find the entry under February, 1779,

Pd S. Hall[9] transporting Books from Andover to Medford £0.18.0.

Let us hope that this may have been the final act in the gathering together again of the library in Cambridge. The library has since experienced many vicissitudes, but none which so seriously threatened its integrity.

To pass over very briefly the subsequent occasions on which

9. Stephen Hall, Tutor, 1772-78, and Fellow, 1777-78.

the library books have had to be packed up and removed from their places either in whole or in part, we may note that it remained undisturbed in Harvard Hall down to 1841 when Gore Hall was ready for its reception. At this time it numbered about forty-one thousand volumes. Mr. John Langdon Sibley, who was assistant librarian from 1841 to 1856 and librarian from 1856 to 1877, states in his manuscript Journal, "The removal of the books from Harvard Hall to Gore Hall was begun July 19, 1841, and was finished in eleven days during which time the books were so arranged as to be found by means of the marked catalogue."

Gore Hall was expected to suffice for the accumulations of the century, but, as every librarian has learned, every library is subject to growing pains and constantly calls aloud for enlargement. When Gore Hall in 1876 received the addition of a new wing on its east side, the library had increased to one hundred and sixty-four thousand volumes. The building operations required the removal of twenty-one thousand volumes, which were temporarily stored in Boylston Hall to be returned to new shelves in Gore Hall a few months later. Still the library grew and at an ever increasing rate. In 1895 it became necessary to remodel the original structure completely and this necessitated the removal of all books except those shelved in the new east stack. Fifteen thousand volumes had already been boxed up in the spring of 1894 and stored in the basement of Appleton Chapel. In May, 1895, some sixty thousand volumes were consigned to the basement of Perkins Hall there to remain until the changes were completed. Other volumes were sent to a temporary reading room in Massachusetts Hall. In February, 1896, the new stack was ready and about eighty thousand volumes were transferred to it in the five weeks between February 7 and March 12.

Once more the Harvard Library had to face a general upheaval, one more thorough than any of the others and in-

volving the handling of its whole stock, some five hundred and sixty thousand volumes and half a million pamphlets. In the summer of 1912 came the announcement of the magnificent gift of the Harry Elkins Widener Memorial Library to replace entirely our old building, Gore Hall, in which the library had dwelt for over seventy years. The problem before us was a difficult one, for our old house had to be pulled down to make way for the new one to take its place upon the same spot, and action must be immediate. Fortunately Randall Hall, heretofore used as a dining hall, was standing empty and was not ill adapted to storing a library. Here some three hundred and thirty thousand volumes were shelved while the remaining two hundred and thirty thousand were hospitably entertained in a dozen other buildings. Moving began on August 20 and continued without interruption to December 6, and at no time were books unavailable for use except while in actual transit. By January 1, 1913, the odds and ends, the catalogue cases and other furniture, and the personnel of the staff were all transferred and settled in temporary quarters.

In the summer of 1915, the procession of book-laden trucks began to move in the other direction and continued without intermission day after day from June 24 to September 27, the day the college term opened, when the work covering the transportation of about six hundred and fifty thousand volumes and five hundred thousand pamphlets was practically complete, each box of books having been taken to the precise shelf in the new stacks where it was intended it should go, and the books standing substantially undisturbed as to order and sequence.

Hic requiescant in pace, or rather, *Hic semper servire parati sint.*

FRENCH SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY

BY WALDO G. LELAND

THE action of France in the new world constitutes one of the finest chapters of American history. Its picturesque and romantic phases have been celebrated by Parkman, whose inspiration and theme are set forth in a passage of surpassing beauty in the introduction of his epic history of the French *régime:*

> The French dominion is a memory of the past; and when we evoke its departed shades, they rise upon us from their graves in strange, romantic guise. Again their ghostly camp-fires seem to burn, and the fitful light is cast around on lord and vassal and black-robed priest, mingled with wild forms of savage warriors, knit in close fellowship on the same stern errand. A boundless vision grows upon us; an untamed continent; vast wastes of forest verdure; mountains silent in primeval sleep; river, lake, and glimmering pool; wilderness oceans mingling with the sky. Such was the domain which France conquered for Civilization. Plumed helmets gleamed in the shade of its forests, priestly vestments in its dens and fastnesses of ancient barbarism. Men steeped in antique learning, pale with the close breath of the cloister, here spent the noon and evening of their lives, ruled savage hordes with a mild, parental sway, and stood serene before the direst shapes of death. Men of courtly nurture, heirs to the polish of a far-reaching ancestry, here, with their dauntless hardihood, put to shame the boldest sons of toil.[1]

The French field of action in America extended from the northern coast of South America to the Arctic Circle. More particularly it comprised the waters of the Caribbean Sea and some of the most fertile of its islands, a part of the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the entire Mississippi Valley from the Appalachians to the Rocky Mountains, the

1. Parkman's *Pioneers of France,* Introduction.

region of the Great Lakes and the valley of the St. Lawrence, with the territory to the north of that waterway, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Atlantic seaboard from the coast of Maine to that of Labrador.

Immediately after the Columbian voyages, Breton and Norman sailors frequented the West Indies; in 1503 a trading expedition was dispatched to Brazil by the merchants of Honfleur; by 1506 the Newfoundland fisheries were well established and soon became an important national industry. Today the transatlantic voyager sees the French fishing vessels tossing on the Grand Bank, and still each year the Newfoundland fleet sets sail from St. Malo amid the religious ceremonies that the custom of centuries has ordained.

In 1535 Jacques Cartier was the first to penetrate the North American continent above Florida and Mexico, when he discovered the St. Lawrence and sailed up its waters to Hochelaga, where now stands Montreal, the third largest French city of the world.

During the sixteenth century, short-lived settlements were made at Quebec, and, under the direction of the Protestant leader Coligny, in Brazil and Florida. The destruction of the Florida colony by Spaniards, and the revenge taken by a French expedition under Captain Dominique de Gourgues, contributed one of the bloodiest episodes of all the long warfare that was waged in the name of religion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The first decade of the seventeenth century saw the settlement of Acadia, and in 1608, the year after which Jamestown was founded, Quebec was permanently established by Champlain. Before the close of the century, French settlements and ports were scattered along the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, a line of military seigneuries stretched along Lake Champlain, a trading post had been established in the country of the Illinois, La Salle had descended the Mississippi

to the Gulf of Mexico, and Iberville, rediscovering the mouth of the great river from the sea, had founded the colony of Louisiana.

During the same century the agricultural colonies of Martinique, Guadeloupe, and St. Domingue had been founded in the Caribbean, where numerous smaller islands were also occupied.

So vast a domain was held, however, by a mere handful as compared with the populations of the English and Spanish colonies. In 1763-64, when Louisiana was transferred to Spain, and Canada was ceded to Great Britain, as one of the fruits of conquest, the total French population of North America did not much exceed eighty thousand souls, who were outnumbered by the million and a half inhabitants of the English colonies in the ratio of nearly twenty to one. And yet such has been the vitality of this French stock on American soil that, without the aid of immigration, and with a minimum of interbreeding with other stocks, it has doubled with every quarter of a century, and now numbers some five million.

During the decade between the cession of Canada and the outbreak of the American Revolution, French philosophy and political ideas, and, to a certain extent, French political activity, prepared the way for the separation of the English colonies from the mother country. When the break finally came, it was the financial, military, and naval assistance rendered by France that enabled the United States to establish their independence by force of arms.

Thenceforward, the action of France in the American world has been predominantly in the domain of ideas and culture, although important political and economic relations have, of course, been maintained. French science, learning, literature, and art have exercised a profound and lasting influence upon all phases of American intellectual and artistic

life, and this influence constitutes the outstanding contribution of France to the civilization of the new world.

After this rapid summary of the course taken by French action in the new world we may pass in review the chief sources of the history of that action, and describe briefly their most important categories.

These sources include many printed works, but mainly they consist of documents that are still in manuscript form, and that are to be found in the archives of the French Government, and in the collections of manuscripts of French libraries. The most important groups of them are in Paris, and we shall here consider only such material as is to be found in the archives of the Ministries of Colonies, Marine, War, and Foreign Affairs, in the National Archives, in the National Library, and in some smaller libraries such as those of the Arsenal, the Institute, the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, and the Mazarine.

Even within these limitations, only a most incomplete picture can be presented, for the depositories just enumerated contain half a million or more individual documents relating to America, and the very summary guide to this material that the Carnegie Institution has now in press will fill three volumes.

First in importance for the internal history of the North American continent and of the French possessions in the West Indies are the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies. Unfortunately, however, they do not antedate Colbert, who, about 1664, first made provision for their systematic preservation. Thus they are available as primary sources of continental history for a bare century, although the series relating to Guiana and to the West Indian colonies, Martinique, and Guadeloupe continue to the present time, and the series relating to St. Domingue, or Haiti, terminate early in the nineteenth century with the revolution in that island.

The first series of the Colonial archives contains the acts of sovereign power that applied to the colonies. There are edicts, *arrêts,* royal orders, letters patent, and similar acts, which constituted the legislative basis of the organization and government of the colonies.

The second series is composed of the dispatches of instruction that the home government—the king and the minister—were continually sending to the officials of the colonies—governor, intendant, royal attorney, commandant, and others. These dispatches constitute the principal source of the history of colonial administration. They interpret the acts of sovereign power, regulate their application, and deal in minute detail with the public affairs of the colonies, and with many private affairs of their officials. They reveal the principles and methods of personal government, unrestricted by constitutional limitations.

The third series contains the dispatches, with their enclosures, that the officials in the colonies addressed to the home government. These documents constitute the principal source of the internal history of the colonies. Classified in sub-series according to colonies—Canada, Acadia, Ile Royale, Louisiana, St. Domingue, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the smaller islands of the Caribbean—they fill something more than seven hundred volumes. They contain a running narrative, with commentary, of practically everything that passed in the colonies. No details seem to have been too insignificant to receive serious attention, and one frequently finds folio after folio devoted to personal quarrels, to petty scandals, and to affairs of similar magnitude. But in general the dispatches relate to matters of importance—the progress of agriculture, the fur trade, relations with the Indians, commerce, missions, questions of administration, military affairs, etc. Some idea of the scope of their contents may be obtained from the following summary of matters dealt with

in the dispatches from Louisiana in 1728-29, just two centuries ago:

Munitions furnished to the Spanish garrison of St. Augustine and to certain Indian tribes; the presence of Jesuit missionaries among the Alabama Indians; the harmful effects of the sale of Indian slaves; the damage caused to the crops by the recent rains; quarrels among the Jesuits and Capucines; the war waged against the French by the Fox Indians, and the defeat of the latter; the ravages of smallpox and measles; measures taken to prevent encroachments from the English colonies; the cultivation and prices of tobacco; the cultivation of indigo; the arrivals and sales of slaves; the production of silk; manufactures of pottery and brick; the hospital at New Orleans, the Ursuline reformatory for women; churches and missions; the garrisons of the Wabash and Illinois countries; the fur trade; public expenditures; surveys of land; metallic and paper currency; the natural resources of the colony; the exportation of colonial products to France.

In the Canadian dispatches of the same year the following matters are among those dealt with:

Canoes made of wood are needed in place of bark canoes; the arrival of certain English subjects to obtain the payment of debts due them from merchants of Montreal; abundance of the harvest; commerce with the West Indies; frauds in the fur trade; the establishment of an entrepôt on Lake Erie for the trade with the upper country; English settlements on the Wabash; the abandonment of the Flemish warehouse on the Ohio; card money and the scarcity of specie; the death of Alphonse de Tonty at Detroit; the scarcity of wampum; the admiralty dues at Quebec; trade rivalry with the English; emigration to Louisiana; encouragement given to the trade in flour and vegetables.

It will be seen from these samples what a mine of information is here to be worked by the student of American history.

Other series in the archives of the colonies contain rolls of troops, lists of civilian officials and employees, biographical documents relating to the personal careers of officers and officials, accounts of the expenditure of public moneys, memoirs and plans of fortifications and other military works,

surveys, records of concessions of land, censuses of inhabitants, lists of passengers embarking for America in French ports or disembarking therein upon their return from America, registers of births, marriages, and deaths, documents relating to the slave trade, the papers of trading companies, documents relating to missions and churches, notarial acts, and records of courts.

Closely related to the archives of the Ministry of the Colonies, to which, indeed, they were formerly united, are those of the Ministry of Marine. They are arranged according to a classification somewhat analogous to that adopted for the Colonial archives. After a series of acts of sovereign power, we find series of orders and letters of instruction addressed by the king and the minister to naval officers, including administrative officers in the ports and officers of vessels. Most important for American history are the volumes of letters from officers on vessels addressed to the ministry. From such officers serving in American waters were received narratives of voyages of discovery and exploration, reports of naval combats and other operations, and letters relating to commerce, piracy, the fisheries, and to colonial affairs. This series of dispatches is especially valuable for the history of the war of American independence, of which it constitutes a primary source. Reports from D'Estaing, De Grasse, La Touche, and other officers who served in that conflict contain detailed accounts of naval operations of every sort in the waters of New England and New York, in Chesapeake Bay, and in the West Indies.

Other series relate to naval personnel, recruiting, and administration, and to consulates and commerce, while still another is composed of log books of vessels.

A branch of the Ministry of Marine is the Hydrographic Service, or Depôt of Maps and Plans, as it was formerly called. Its archives and library are especially rich in original

maps which illustrate in much detail the progress of American cartography in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also contain correspondence and notes of cartographers, narratives of exploring expeditions, such as those of La Salle, and other documents from which the gradual development of the knowledge of American geography may be traced.

The archives of the Ministry of War contain, in a single series of *Correspondance,* as it is termed, the orders and letters addressed by the king and minister to officers of troops, and the letters and reports received from them. Until the Seven Years' War, most of the troops that served in America were not regulars—or *troupes de terre,* but were marines, and were therefore under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Marine rather than that of the Minister of War. Consequently, except for correspondence relating to Swiss mercenaries who served as garrison troops in the colonies, and relating also to the regulars who made up the Louisburg expedition of 1746, there is no great abundance of material relating to America in the war archives prior to 1755. For the military operations of the Seven Years' War, however, the correspondence is a primary source. It includes, of course, orders and dispatches sent to officers serving in Canada, but especially should be noted hundreds of reports and letters from these officers—from the Baron Dieskeau, the Chevalier de Levis, Bourlamarque, Macartie, Vaudreuil, Montcalm, and many others. There are also rolls of troops, reports of combats, lists of casualties, and detailed memoirs on the economic and military situation.

For the period of the American Revolution, the War archives contain an important group of documents relating to the expeditionary forces under Rochambeau, which includes military memoirs, personal narratives of officers, letters from Rochambeau, and much material of an administrative char-

acter relating to the services of supply. Of purely military correspondence there is, however, less than might be expected—owing, probably, to the fact that Rochambeau corresponded chiefly with Washington and with the French minister in the United States. The Library of the Ministry of War, and also the engineer archives, contain a large number of admirable maps and plans representing military operations and works in all parts of the American theater of war.

The American material in the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is of wide scope and of great importance. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when America was the principal stake of European diplomacy, American affairs were subjects of frequent discussion between the foreign offices of the western powers. Thus it is that we find in the series of diplomatic correspondence with Spain and England, an almost constant recurrence of American themes. Among the subjects that receive most attention, the following may be noted as examples: the Spanish treasure fleet; the Scottish colony in Darien; the siege of Cartagena; commerce in the West Indies; the slave trade; pirates and filibusters; boundaries between the American possessions of the various powers; fisheries; taxes on vessels in foreign ports; plans of attack on the colonial possessions of one or another of the powers; Iberville's attack on the Island of Nevis; English encroachments on territory claimed by France on the Ohio, and in other parts of the west; relations with the Indian nations; the fur trade; the cession of Acadia to England; dispersion of the Acadians; negotiations of treaties; the cession of Canada; the transfer of Louisiana to Spain; the settlement of the Canadian debt; the regulation of the Newfoundland fishing privileges; discontent in Louisiana under Spanish rule; discontent and impending conflict in the English colonies.

With the outbreak of the American Revolution, and the

participation of France in that conflict, there commences a series of correspondence with the United States. The dispatches of the first ministers to the newly recognized power are exceedingly valuable for their long sections on military, economic, and political affairs, and on the state of public opinion, and for their interesting pen portraits of American personalities. The correspondence with Holland for this period relates to securing loans for the United States and to propaganda in their behalf, while that with Spain bears on the effort to secure the participation of that country in the war, and the later effort to satisfy her when the war was over.

In a supplementary series, which contains the records of the French legation in the United States, transferred to Paris early in the last century, are to be found a hundred letters from Lafayette to the French minister at Philadelphia, a volume of letters from Washington to the same and to French officers, letters from Robert Morris relating to the debt of the United States, and correspondence relating to the service of *étapes,* or quarters, of the French troops.

For the period since the American Revolution, the most interesting series of correspondence are those with the United States, and, after their recognition, with the other American states, with Spain, England, Holland, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. An almost endless list of subjects treated in these series could be enumerated, but a few examples must suffice: trade with the United States; the constitutional convention; efforts to secure the alliance of the United States in the French revolutionary wars; captures of American vessels; purchase of supplies in America for the French Government; the licensing system; the dispute between the United States and Spain over the use of the Mississippi; the retrocession of Louisiana; the purchase of Florida; the recognition of the Spanish American republics; the Monroe doctrine; the dispute with President Jackson over the settlement of the spoliation claims.

Finally should be mentioned the exceedingly interesting series of consular correspondence. The French consuls in various American ports—Portsmouth, Boston, New London, New York, Philadelphia, Alexandria, Norfolk, Wilmington, Savannah, New Orleans, and still others—wrote lengthy and frequent dispatches in which they told of happenings of general interest in their respective ports, and devoted especial attention, of course, to matters of commerce and industry.

The National Archives include the records of the governmental institutions of the old *régime,* such as the Council of State with its ordinary and special commissions, the Parlement of Paris, the Châtelet which had criminal and civil jurisdiction, the Council of Commerce, the Chamber of Accounts, and the Comptroller General. To locate documents relating to America in the vast mass of this material (merely the records that have been enumerated fill more than sixty thousand large boxes or volumes) demands long and wearisome turning of pages and handling of documents. Here however are to be found *arrêts* which embody legislation for the colonies, records of special investigations of colonial affairs, such as those of the Canadian Beaver Company, the Company of the Indies, concessions of land in Louisiana, the bishopric of Quebec, etc., and documents relating to colonial commerce and commercial policy.

In still other series are memoirs on the colonization of Louisiana, acts relating to the voyages of Roberval to Canada, about 1540, memoirs by La Salle, and memoirs on the conduct of the Jesuits in Canada, on the church, and on the boundaries between the English and French colonies.

More modern documents in the National Archives deal with relations between France and the United States during the Napoleonic period, and include letters and memoranda relating to French plans for Louisiana at the time of its retrocession from Spain, and lists of American vessels that re-

ceived permits during the *régime* of the continental blockade and the licensing system.

Finally, a word must be said of the great collections of manuscripts in the Parisian libraries, which supplement in a most valuable way the material that is preserved in the archives.

In the Library of the Arsenal are the Archives of the Bastille, among which are several lists of persons who were transported to Louisiana in 1719 and 1720—the Louisiana chain gang; there are also the exceedingly voluminous dossiers that contain the documentary evidence accumulated during the examination and trial of Bigot, the last intendant of Canada, and his fellow prisoners who were convicted of corruption and malfeasance in office during the final years of French rule in that colony. Among the general manuscripts of the Arsenal Library is a long and very bad poem by Dumont de Montigny which recites the history of Louisiana from 1716 to 1741.

Other libraries, such as those of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, the Institute, the Sorbonne, and the Mazarine and Ste. Geneviève have collections of manuscripts in which are also to be found a considerable number of documents relating to America, such, for example, as memoirs on commerce, records and correspondence of scientific exploring expeditions, papers of scientists including correspondence between French and American scholars, and memoranda on the geology, flora, and fauna of the American continents and islands.

But the most important of this miscellaneous manuscript material, and by far the greatest amount is scattered through the 122,000 volumes of manuscripts of the National Library. The inventory of these American documents, which is now being printed, and which is in many places of a summary character, fills over two hundred pages. A few examples must

suffice to call attention to the character and importance of this material.

For the voyages of Jacques Cartier we have a unique manuscript of the relation of 1534, and three manuscripts of the voyage of 1535, as well as the commissions of Cartier and Roberval.

On the short-lived Protestant colony in Florida there are the inventories of artillery and munitions embarked upon the vessels under Ribault's command in 1565, the correspondence of Fourquevaulx, ambassador of France in Spain, relating to the massacre of the colony by the Spaniards, and five manuscripts of the narrative by Dominique de Gourges of his expedition which in turn massacred the Spaniards.

The history of French colonizing activities late in the sixteenth and early in the seventeenth centuries is illustrated by royal letters relating to the Canadian expedition of La Roche in 1598, ordinances regulating the monopoly of trade accorded to de Monts in 1605, and documents on the commercial company organized by the de Caëns in 1620 and on the Company of New France, sponsored by Richelieu in 1627.

For the period of Colbert we have a large amount of administrative correspondence, including letters from the marine intendants at Rochefort and La Rochelle which present an interesting and connected picture of the naval and commercial movement of those centers of colonial activity.

The documents relating to the explorations of La Salle, de Tonty, and Iberville in the Mississippi Valley during the last quarter of the seventeenth century are of particular importance and include narratives, memoirs, cartographical memoranda, and correspondence, while there are numerous memoirs and administrative documents of the early eighteenth century dealing with the Company of the Indies, John Law and the Mississippi Bubble, and the colonization of Louisiana.

Of other and later material bearing in one way or another on many phases of French action in America there is great abundance. Important documents relate to the Seven Years' War, to the West Indies, to the war of American independence, French-American relations in the nineteenth century, and to American historiography, particularly to the work of Francis Parkman, but space is lacking for anything more than these mere hints of their existence.

When we reflect upon the importance for American history of the vast documentation that has been so hurriedly and inadequately described, it must be a source of the greatest satisfaction to the historian that the enlightened policy of the Library of Congress is rapidly making accessible in this country photographic or other accurate copies of the greater part of this material. Thus the American student has directly at hand resources that are indispensable to these investigations, a fact which will undoubtedly stimulate much important research.

A FORGOTTEN TRAIL BLAZER

BY HARRY MILLER LYDENBERG

WHEN Joseph Green Cogswell threw open the doors of the Astor Library on Monday morning, the ninth of January, 1854, he set before the public the first collection of books ever made in this country primarily for scholar and research worker. That does not mean there were no earlier libraries for research. Every college in the country had a library of some sort or other used for research of some sort or other. The Charleston (South Carolina) Library Society, the Library Company of Philadelphia, the New York Society Library, the Boston Athenaeum, to take only the first of the society or subscription libraries that come to mind, even then had a long and honorable service to their credit, but they were not public libraries, for one thing, and, for another, they aimed at circulation more than at what in later years we have come to call reference use of their collections. The Astor Library was the first designed and developed to provide a selection of books needed by men who were making more than a superficial cultivation of the fields they trod.

Of the three names most closely connected with the early days of the Astor Library, Cogswell's is least known. Anyone you meet will tell you how John Jacob Astor came to this country a penniless immigrant in the eighteenth century and how he rose to be the rich man of his generation by his judgment and acumen as a buyer of furs and an investor in New York City real estate. Washington Irving, first president of the library, would be a familiar name to most of us, though perhaps there might be a question as to whether he was the creator of Rip Van Winkle or his first portrayer on the stage.

Rip and Diedrich Knickerbocker, however, are indelibly connected with Washington Irving. But Joseph Green Cogswell would mean little to most people, and a definite statement as to his achievements and accomplishments could be obtained from few. Yet he deserves remembrance and recognition whenever and wherever American scholarship is studied and surveyed.

His life was devoid of excitement or adventure; his contacts with men of importance in his time were close enough and lasting enough to show he was held by them as an equal; his achievements were varied enough and extensive enough to demonstrate his native and acquired abilities. Why his name means nothing to the man on the street must be due simply to the general acceptance of a library as a thing that grows without care, cultivation, or nourishment. The present essay is an effort to analyze his accomplishments in the library world.

Born at Ipswich, Massachusetts, on September 27, 1786, he took his degree at Harvard with the Class of 1806, made the usual voyage to India as supercargo, tried his hand at practicing law in the District of Maine, but soon returned to Massachusetts, disheartened because of the death of his wife and out of sympathy with the profession and the neighbors. He spent the academic years of 1813 and 1814 as tutor at Harvard, still floundering, then rejoiced at the chance of a trip to Marseilles in the autumn of 1815 to regain health and to represent William Gray, the Boston merchant, in a suit pending in a French court of law. Most of the next five years were spent in Europe, traveling and studying with George Ticknor, Edward Everett, and other young Boston men who formed the vanguard of the larger army soon to follow as drinkers from the fount of German learning and scholarship. He saw much of the German universities, studied carefully the organization of the university library at Göttingen

as administered by Benecke, went through France, Italy, Britain, the low countries, and came to know Goethe, Scott, De Fellenberg, the family of Lucien Bonaparte, Southey, Anne Grant of Laggan, most of the men of letters in Britain and on the Continent. An early enthusiasm in botany lasted for a short time, then succumbed to the attractions of mineralogy, that in turn gave place to a conviction he was called to be one of the explorers of waste places and led him to apply for a position on Stephen Harriman Long's expedition to the Rockies. He landed in Boston in 1820, made a trip to Washington, returned to the banks of the Charles and agreed to take charge of the college library and to hold the chair of mineralogy.

The two positions were equally attractive; the need of an active and capable man was equally great for each. But the latter was a position of potential, rather than actual, usefulness, because there were no funds for its support, while the first gave Cogswell a chance to devote the whole of his active, intelligent, persistent, thoroughgoing personality to the solution of a difficult problem. Up to the time he took charge, the college library had usually been in the hands of worthy clerics, recently graduated, looking on the post as a convenient resting place until they had determined which of their calls to take charge of a church and congregation was most attractive for their life work. Collectors and administrators like Sibley and Winsor were many years in the future.

While in Edinburgh in 1819, Cogswell had contributed to *Blackwood's Magazine* a survey, "On the Means of Education, and the State of Learning, in the United States of America," that showed an objectiveness of judgment, a directness of expression too far in advance of the time to be popular, not without elements of warning and shafts of common sense worthy of remembrance and consideration by us who stand a century behind him. He was no popularizer of edu-

cation, setting forth early in his essay his conviction that "the literary character of a nation depends upon the degree of knowledge among the few, not upon the universal diffusion of it among the many." He regrets that learning and scholarship in his native country are not sought for themselves but "the object of learning is misunderstood in America, or rather, it is valued only as far as it is practically useful," regrets that "the power of close, undivided, fixed application is never acquired," feels the college youth suffers from lack of discipline as well as from lack of proper incentives for a life of scholarship, and goes on to give one of the earliest discussions of the character of the American library as an institution that has reached us from the pen of a competent observer.

Of the library as part of the educational equipment of the nation he says:

> The last subject of importance connected with education is libraries. These are, for the most part, pitiful; the largest in the country is that of Harvard college, which is now said to contain 25,000 volumes; six or eight years since, it had little more than half that number, and this rapid increase affords a pleasing proof of the improving state of the institution. Next in consequence is that of Philadelphia, being the city and the Logan libraries united, which make together about 20,000 volumes. The Boston Athenæum library has 12,000, and the Philadelphia about 6,000. Beside these, the remaining public libraries are those of the other colleges, which are all inconsiderable, from 8,000 down to a few hundred; those of the literary and scientific societies, none of which are important enough to be particularly mentioned; and, lastly, the social libraries as they are called, being small collections of books, made up in the country towns by subscription, which are about equal in value and number to those nicely matched octodecimos, that are put into a gilt and lacquered box for children, and distinguished by the name of a juvenile library. These out of the question, (for it is quite impossible to calculate their number, and they are always of a kind of books of no importance to a scholar,) all the other public libraries of every kind do not contain above 150,000 volumes, of which not more than 30,000 are distinct works; for,

as they form so many different libraries, they are, of course, made up of multiplied copies of the same. This then is the whole compass of learning, which the most favoured American scholar has to depend upon. It is uncertain what is the number of books now extant in all languages; we have used a library of 250,000 volumes, which contained no duplicate, and it was so perfect, that it was difficult to ask for an author not to be found in it. The largest library in Europe contains nearly 400,000 volumes, duplicates not included, and perhaps it may be about right to estimate the whole number of printed books in the world at 500,000. This being the case, America furnishes about one-seventeenth of the means necessary for extending learning to the utmost, and about one-thirteenth of what the city of Paris alone affords. Another comparison will show her poverty in a manner equally striking. Germany contains 30 millions of people, who have 2 millions of books in public libraries for their instruction, exclusive of those of the sovereigns and princes, which are always accessible to scholars. America contains 10 millions of people, who have 150 thousand books for the same purpose. But the 2 millions in Germany are more read than the 150 thousand in America, and the result of the comparison will form the second part of our subject.—("On the Means of Education, and the State of Learning, in the United States of America," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine,* Vol. 4, pp. 552-553.)

A bit sophomoric? Not exactly, rather the judgment of an eager soul of thirty-three who had been fortunate enough to spend the most impressionable years of his life in observation of European schools and who was anxious to instil into the teaching world of his home land some of the eager quest of learning for the sake of learning he had come so highly to respect as he saw it in the old country.

Cogswell, as usual, had definite ideas as to what he wanted to do. He was fired with a desire to make the college collection the equal of the libraries he had grown used to in Europe. He planned to change, not only the physical arrangement of the books on the shelves, but also the point of view of the men responsible for library and college. The first was not so difficult as the second. College authorities were satisfied with things as they stood, and saw no reason why estab-

lished order should be upset because a young man had come home from the Continent. Cogswell's own references to his two years in the college library are slight, but we get what is probably a more emphatic characterization of both sides when we glance at the letters George Ticknor wrote to Samuel Atkins Eliot, whose son Charles William was to face a somewhat similar condition when he became president of Harvard nearly half a century later.

Ticknor said to his friend:

> Cogswell is doing much good in the library, reforming it utterly, and will, I am persuaded, when he has finished its systematic catalogue, and shown its gross deficiencies, persuade people to do something serious towards filling it up. (April 1, 1822.)

> The library is now in fine order. It is arranged on the same plan with that at Göttingen, though, for want of books, the subdivisions are much fewer at present, and the Catalogues are made out in the same way, so that all possible future additions will require no alteration in any part of the system. Cogswell, however, is in a state of mortal discontent. He is weary of the imperfect system of education at College, and bitterly vexed with the want of liberal views in the Corporation, as to the principles on which the Library shall be managed and increased. If he would but wait a while, I think all things would turn out right; but perhaps, he lacks patience and constancy for this. At least, he now protests, if things are not speedily reformed, he shall quit the College entirely. (October 29, 1822.)

> Bancroft and Cogswell have a project for establishing a school in the country, to teach more thoroughly than has ever yet been taught among us. This purpose arises mainly from their discontent at their situation in Cambridge. Cogswell has put the library in perfect order, and is now finishing his catalogue of it, but the corporation neither comprehend what he has done, nor respect him enough for his great disinterested labor. Bancroft is making great exertions to teach Greek thoroughly, and succeeds; but is thwarted in every movement by the President. I am very anxious they should stay, and by patient continuance carry through all their projects, as they will in time; but they declare they will not, whether they establish their school or give it up. (February 1, 1823.)[1]

1. Cogswell's *Life*, 1874, pp. 133-135.

Two years were enough to convince the young men that Cambridge atmosphere would soon dampen enthusiasm brought from Germany, and they took their way to the Connecticut Valley and founded the famous Round Hill School near Northampton. How much influence the school had on American pedagogy may perhaps be a subject worth investigation,[2] but as to the influence Cogswell had on the boys who studied and lived with him there is not the shadow of a doubt. Aside from the natural resistance of any youthful male to any teacher, few, if any, of the students left the school without appreciating then the ideals of Cogswell and without coming to honor and respect the personality behind those ideals. Bancroft withdrew in 1830, and Cogswell carried the school on six years longer, when health and financial burdens forced him to give it up. For a few years he tried to develop a similar school at Raleigh, North Carolina, but it required no lengthy experience to demonstrate that northern airs were more congenial, and 1838 saw him established in New York as a member of the household of Samuel Ward, the banker, whose famous son, Samuel, had been a Round Hill student. Here he came to know Astor and here the next ten years of his life came to be centered largely on conferences with Astor, trips to Europe to buy books, efforts to materialize then and there the dream Astor had of a library as evidence of his desire for a gift for public purposes for his adopted country. Cogswell took over the *New York Review* for a short time, was tempted to go with Irving as secretary of legation at Madrid but yielded to the importunities of Astor and consented to stay in New York and help him think out library problems. Not until Astor died, however, in March, 1848, and his will was read did Cogswell have a free hand in forming and shaping the library.

2. Compare "The Round Hill School" by Prof. John Spencer Bassett, in American Antiquarian Society *Proceedings*, new series, Vol. 27 (1917), pp. 18-62.

When the will was probated in April it was found that Astor, "desiring to render a public benefit to the City of New York and to contribute to the advancement of useful knowledge and the general good of society," had set aside $400,000 for a public library "to be accessible at all reasonable hours and times, for general use, free of expense to persons resorting thereto, subject only to such control and regulations, as the Trustees may from time to time exercise and establish for general convenience." Cogswell was named in the will as one of the trustees, and after incorporation of the library in January, 1849, he was made superintendent in the following April.

Then came five years of struggle with architect and builder, patience with fellow trustees, tolerance with demands from the public for more than immediate action, and long, exacting, wearing journeys to collect books, with equally long, exacting, wearing days and nights spent in cataloguing and arranging them. He had very definite ideas as to the kind of a collection he wanted to bring together, the kind of a library the community needed, the type of books that would be of most use to the kind of scholar that appealed to him.

Look at the *Alphabetical Index to the Astor Library, or Catalogue, with short titles, of the books now collected and of the proposed accessions, as submitted to the Trustees of the Library for their approval, January 1851,* prepared and printed by Cogswell at his own expense, and you recognize the hand of a master, well aware of the character of the raw material at his command, with perfectly defined ideas as to the kind of structure he was to raise, fully conversant with the scope and nature of the problem for solution. Study the titles set forth in the first catalogue of the library, published three to seven years after the opening, compare them with the bibliographies and guides to book collecting then at

his command, dig deep into the subject, and you will admit at the end that few books of importance escaped his net. He set out to develop a well-rounded, general collection, and he succeeded in a way to make his followers proud that one of their countrymen and fellow librarians has so noteworthy an accomplishment to his credit. The theme had been sounded in the *Blackwood's* study of 1819: the library was a part of the American scheme of education; its growth and development had been sporadic, incidental, haphazard; nowhere did the scholar have at his command a scholar's collection gathered for the use of the scholar. Now opened the opportunity of making such a collection for such a purpose. Seldom have man and opening come more happily together.

Just here stands out one of the distinguishing characteristics of Joseph Green Cogswell: quite as much a book man as his successors Brevoort or Billings, more of a "collector" than any of his followers, he realized very keenly how different are the responsibilities and the points of view of librarian and book collector. He had all the instincts of the collector: as a youth he wandered the fields of his native Ipswich country gathering botanical specimens, as a young American student he traveled a few years later from one German university to another making a collection of minerals that later went to Harvard as part of his contribution to the development of the College, as librarian he asked the privilege of giving to the Astor Library the bibliographies and related reference works he had gathered as he bought for the library, careful to spend no library funds for so special a purpose. On some of his trips to Europe he had brought together the remarkable collection of drawings by the old masters that speaks so forcibly of the taste and discrimination of the man who gathered and piously preserved it.[3] But in the develop-

3. Now in possession of Mr. Mortimer L. Schiff, and reproduced in part in *Original drawings by the old masters. The collection formed by Joseph Green Cogswell, 1786-1871. With an introduction and notes by George S. Hellman, A.M.* Privately printed, New York, 1915.

ment of the Astor Library he firmly set his mind against any mere assembling of books to satisfy the instinct of the collector and kept constantly in view the wants and needs of the scholar.

On one occasion, to be sure, he ventured to depart from his rule, and it is well to let him tell the tale in his own words. Writing to the *Literary World*[4] about the book market of London in 1849 on his first trip after the library had been incorporated, he told about the sale of the Duke of Westminster collection from Stowe House, sold in January of that year, and went on to say:

> The Astor Library gets the princeps "Homer," which sold for twenty-nine pounds, a less sum than any copy has been known to fetch for a long while. On getting possession of it, I could not but call to mind Petrarch's eloquent apostrophe to the "illustrious bard," as reported by Gibbon, when the Byzantine Ambassador presented him with a manuscript copy; and something of the same veneration which he there confesses, induced me to deviate from my rule and buy at a great price, because it is a first edition. There are but two other first editions which I am very anxious to have for the Astor Library: one is the Mazarin Bible, which I despair of obtaining, the other Shakespeare, which I am resolved to have. As books, these are my three objects of veneration. . . .

This single exception stands out, to his credit as collector and librarian. In general his rule was set forth by him in these words, "In my selections, I am governed more by intrinsic value than by the accident of rarity, believing that the Astor Library should be a learned and a useful one, rather than a mere museum of curiosities." Such an intent is commendable in anyone, and when we hear him say after the library had been opened and had come to settle down to customary routine, "There is no use in having lots of boys here, reading translations of their Latin and Greek books, and novels. I never want to see a reader who does not come for a valuable

4. New York, February 24, 1849, Vol. 4, number 108, pp. 169-171.

purpose," we of a later day and time may be inclined to blame him for lack of appreciation of youthful ardor for books. Sentiments like these would not receive loud applause at a meeting of the American Library Association today, but let us remind ourselves that he was then sixty-seven years old, that his whole life had been spent in severe training and self-denial, and that his real feelings toward boys had long before been concretely set forth at Round Hill and had been pronounced good by all who had come in contact with teacher or pupils. From the day he had first glimpsed that intellectual progress in this country depended on a changed attitude toward the intellectual life he had striven to contribute his efforts in concrete and practical form. Not the least of his offerings was this library.

In his own words, "It was one of my earliest aspirations to be instrumental in securing to the cause of sound learning, somewhere in this country, a library that would supply the wants of scholars. . . . I have not succeeded as fully as I could wish, but I have laid the foundation on which the complete edifice may be raised, and, however soon I may be called out of the world, I shall have the consoling reflection when I die, that I have not lived wholly in vain." (Cogswell to Mrs. William Burns, February 27, 1859, in his *Life,* p. 278.)

The library had scarcely been opened before pressure from trustees and public became strong enough to set him to work on printing a catalogue, though his better judgment would have urged delay. He had in mind a catalogue in two parts, the first an alphabetical index of authors, the second of subjects. The author catalogue did appear in four volumes printed between 1857 and 1861. The dream of the subject catalogue, likewise in four volumes, never came to life. But in 1866 this man of seventy-nine saw through the press a supplement to the catalogue, giving first an alphabetical list, by authors, of books added since the general catalogue ap-

peared, followed by an alphabetical index to subjects covered by the collection. Far from what Cogswell had in mind as ideal, this index served a useful purpose by providing a list of subjects with record under each of authors whose works should be consulted for these subjects. We have, to be sure, made great progress beyond that, and we must not forget it was but a scant eight years later that Charles Ammi Cutter began to print the catalogue of the Boston Athenaeum. The difference between the two shows the progress American libraries had begun to make.

But the Astor catalogue of 1866, the work of a man nearly eighty, can be accepted merely as a token of the hold he had taken and continued to keep on this child of his younger days. It would have been more creditable to the institution if one of his immediate successors had taken up the master's staff and had pushed forward the trail he had blazed. But there was at that time no one on the library roll competent to undertake such a commission. Twenty years later another catalogue of the library began to appear, almost the last large printed catalogue to be issued in this country.

It carried Cogswell's traditions on in improved form, and it offers a pleasing field of speculation whether Cogswell, had he then been alive, would have chosen the printed page for his record of the collection, or whether he then would have been far enough ahead of his contemporaries to have hit on some other form. The card catalogue was soon to sweep away the earlier forms of printed catalogues, and most of us have come to accept it as the inevitable means of announcing our wares. Some few curious-minded librarians in these days of conviction and sureness are with fitting timidity and apologies confessing an indefinite doubt as to whether the last word on the subject has been spoken. Occasionally they wonder what they would see if the veil of the future should be lifted far enough to permit them to observe how their suc-

cessors, much wiser and much more ingenious than they, have chosen between the dilemma of the card and the printed catalogue. The one is so flexible, so speedy in growth, so exacting and wasteful of space. The printed page is so costly to prepare, so slow in birth, so economical of space both for the librarian who stores it and the reader who uses it. What a mind like Cogswell's would have to say on such a topic would certainly be of value and importance for us today.

So much for the book collector and librarian. Of the man himself one gets the impression of an earnest, determined, zealous, unselfish character, somewhat impatient, devoted to scholarship, loyal to friends, drawing from friends and intimates the same loyalty and devotion. He resigned as superintendent of the Astor Library on the sixth of November, 1861, moved to Cambridge where he built a house near the College Yard, and died there on the twenty-sixth of November, 1871, a man with convictions and with the courage of those convictions, a man to whom productive scholarship and research in this country owe a high tribute.

GOETHE'S LETTER TO JOSEPH GREEN COGSWELL

DATED JULY 29, 1819
ON PRESENTING A SET OF HIS WORKS TO HARVARD COLLEGE
NOW PRINTED FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

BY LEONARD L. MACKALL

JOSEPH GREEN COGSWELL was certainly the first great American librarian, and Goethe was certainly the greatest literary character of the age beginning with our Declaration of Independence—to say the very least for him, chronologically speaking. It was apparently due mainly to Cogswell that Goethe sent over a set of his works to Harvard College in 1819, in order that his "memory might be made secure even beyond the sea," as he himself expresses it in our letter. Thus his present was expressly intended for America, or at least the United States, as a whole, rather than for merely one section of our country. Surely, therefore, it is very appropriate that this notable and interesting letter from Goethe to Cogswell, hitherto known only from varying drafts retained by Goethe, should now be printed accurately from the original manuscript itself, in honor of the librarian of our national library, on the occasion of his completion of a long term of most able and efficient and fruitful service. Cogswell made the Astor Library the first great scholarly public library in America.[1] Dr. Putnam, more than anyone else, has made the Library of Congress a great national li-

1. Cf. *Public Libraries in the United States of America, Their History etc.*, Dept. of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Part I (Washington, D. C., 1876), pp. 931-935, and Lydenberg's *History of the New York Public Library* (New York, 1923), pp. 1-56, cf. N.Y.P.L. *Bulletin*, 1916, July, etc., quoting Burton's *Book Hunter* on Cogswell.

brary, ranking worthily, so far as is possible in so new a country, with the great national libraries of other and older nations.

The chief facts about Cogswell have been already told elsewhere in the present volume in Mr. Lydenberg's competent and longer paper with special reference to Cogswell's work in America at Harvard and at the Astor Library in New York. We must therefore be brief, and must repeat as little as possible of what we had to say, after laboriously collecting many scattered facts, when using them in editing rather elaborately Goethe's correspondence with Cogswell and other Americans, as published officially by the Goethe-Schiller-Archiv in the twenty-fifth volume of the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* just twenty-five years ago! Somewhat later, in editing all the then known accounts of Goethe's conversations with Americans (and Englishmen), I was able, thanks to the kindness of my friend, Mr. M. A. DeWolfe Howe, to print from the unpublished manuscript (now in the Massachusetts Historical Society, I believe) an account written by Cogswell to George Bancroft on May 25, 1819, describing Cogswell's visit to Goethe on May 10, 1819.[2]

Joseph Green Cogswell (1786-1871) after graduating at Harvard went to Europe in 1816, for the third time, to travel and study. At the University of Göttingen he studied under Eichhorn, the founder of modern Old Testament criticism, Blumenbach, still well known as a writer on physiology and comparative anatomy and especially as the real founder of anthropology, and the geologist and mineralogist Hausmann. But above all, under the variously learned Professor Benecke,

2. *Goethes Gespräche,* edited by von Biedermann, Morris, Gräf, and L. L. Mackall, vol. 5, p 116, cf. p. 506, Leipzig, 1911; the accounts of Cogswell's other visits to Goethe on March 27, 1817, and August 17, 1819, are in volume 2, 1909; reprinted in full from Miss A. E. Ticknor's rare privately printed volume *The Life of Joseph Green Cogswell, as Sketched in his Letters* (Cambridge, Mass., 1874; 222 copies printed at the Riverside Press).

Cogswell acquired an unusual knowledge of bibliography, both theoretical and practical. Thus he wrote to Ticknor from Göttingen, July 27, 1817: "I have made two experiments with Benecke in the library, and rejoice that I now get an hour of very valuable instruction for one which was worth nothing at all. He takes the library first according to the arrangement on the shelves, and goes through the whole with me in that way, giving minute accounts of all the divisions and subdivisions, and of the practical application of the principles of classification and distribution. Afterwards he will do the same with the catalogues. If you think of any questions I shall not be likely to ask, tell me of them. This will be another acquisition which I shall owe to you, for I hardly think I should ever have thought of the study, had you not suggested it to me. As you put me in the way of acquiring this knowledge, I shall call upon you to tell me what use I can make of it, for I certainly see none myself."[3]

Cogswell took a Ph.D. at Göttingen; and in March, 1819, was made a member of the famous Munich Academy of Sciences. Soon after his return to America at the end of 1820 he was made Professor of Mineralogy and Chemistry at Harvard and also librarian there as successor to the Rev. Prof. Andrews Norton, father of Charles Eliot Norton. In 1823, with George Bancroft, he founded the once famous Round Hill School at Northampton, Mass., but gave it up in 1834. He was very largely responsible for the creation of the Astor Library, founded by John Jacob Astor in 1848, and for many years (he retired officially in 1861) he was most active and able as its superintendent. Cogswell was a very eminent bibliographer. As a man, he was beloved by all who knew him. It is clear that he made a very marked and very favorable impression on even the great Goethe himself, who seems to have become quite fond of him as a friend.

3. *Life*, p. 67.

Goethe had long taken a special interest in America, and Cogswell reported that when he met him for the first time on March 27, 1817, Goethe "turned the conversation to America, and spoke of his hopes and promises in a manner that showed it had been the subject of his inquiries, and made juster and more rational observations upon its literary pretensions and character, than I ever heard from any man in Europe," and he "discovered a minute knowledge of its physical and moral character. Spoke of Boston and its local situation,—observed that the productions of America had a character different from those of other continents,—crystallizations different, larger, on a greater scale," etc.

It is true that Goethe received from Edward Everett on October 11, 1817, a letter saying, "It is with great diffidence, that I express to your Excellency a wish on the Part of the University to which I am attached in America.—It has been my desire to procure for the Library of the University a memorial of distinguished characters, in Europe, & many in England as well as [in] Germany[4] have already done us the honor to present the Library, with a Copy of some One of their writings. Should it be agreeable to your Excellency to favor us, with any volume of your Writings, you may chance to have at hand, and to address it in Your own handwriting to our Library, we should feel ourselves at once highly gratified & honoured." Goethe then wrote to Cogswell on June 27, 1818: "Désirant faire hommage à la bibliothèque publique de Boston de ceux de mes ouvrages qui pourraient avoir quelque intérêt pour les habitants d'outre mer, ainsi que de ceux de quelques autres personnes, oserais-je vous prier à mon tour de me marquer occasionellement où je devrois adresser

4. Among German donors we may mention Eichhorn, Blumenbach, F. A. Wolf, Gottfried Hermann, Buttmann, Bouterwek, the Grimm Brothers, Sömmerring. Cf. the MS. book of Donations to the Library 1812-1821, Harvard Archives, 519.25, and Quincy's *History of Harvard University*, 1840.

un tel envoi." Cogswell replied from Paris on September 5, 1818: "Vous faites mention de vos intentions très flatteuses vers notre bibliothèque de Boston; c'est à Cambridge une heure de Boston où la plus grande bibliothèque en Amérique se trouve, et où il-y-a beaucoup de jeunes gens capables de lire et de comprendre la langue, à laquelle vos ouvrages ont donné une renommé au dessus de celle de toute autre langue vivante. C'est ici où se trouve la meilleure Université en Amérique, mais malheureusement la meilleure est assez mauvaise à cause du système monastique y adopté à l'instar de celles d'Angleterre."

Cogswell sent Goethe a short note, with some geological works, on September 17, 1818, and saw him in Jena on May 10, 1819. Finally, on June 29, 1819, Goethe wrote to Cogswell the letter which forms the subject of the present paper. From two varying drafts retained by Goethe the letter was printed by me in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* of 1904, and then in the Weimar edition of Goethe's Works (*Briefe* Vol. 31), but the actual text of the original letter itself and even its existence were quite unknown until July, 1924. While reading the little catalogue of a miscellaneous sale of only 340 items, printed books, etc., the property of various owners (these items included Kipling's "My Great and Only," a manuscript order of battle for Trafalgar signed by Nelson himself and issued to the Captain of H.M.S. *Renommée,* and various interesting portraits, relics, etc., of Dr. Edward Jenner, discoverer of vaccination) all to be sold at Sotheby's, London, on July 31, 1924, we suddenly and most unexpectedly came upon lot "302 Goethe, (J. W. von) L. sub. and s. Weimar, 29 July, 1819, mentioning the *Edinburgh Magazine*. Frederick the Great L.s (initials) ½ p. 4to.—Frederick William II, L.s. ½ p. 4to. Alexander I, Emperor of Russia, L.s. 1 p. 4to, Vienna, 1815; and others (8 [pieces])."

Evidently this was the missing manuscript, but it seemed too late to get the lot at the sale. Fortunately the cataloguer evidently had no idea of the real subject and importance of the letter; nor did the purchaser either, apparently. The lot sold for £7-10-0; and through an agent I obtained the long-sought Goethe letter at a very reasonable figure; and so can now print it correctly here for the first time, with notes, explaining the references otherwise obscure. (The manuscript itself I gave to the Harvard Library in June, 1928.) Only the words printed now in italics are in Goethe's own hand. The rest was written by Friedrich Theodor Kräuter (1790-1856), who was regularly employed at the Weimar Library, but was often used by Goethe as secretary. A facsimile of his handwriting is therefore given in the *Chronik des Weiner Goethe-Vereins,* XII. Band, No. 8, for 15 Juli 1898, Beilage, page 2, no. 25. On October 12, 1819, Goethe in Jena gave George Bancroft a letter of introduction to Kräuter in Weimar.[5]

In Hoffnung dass dieser Brief, theuerster Herr und Freund, Sie noch in Dresden finden werde, lege ich ein Diplom der mineralogischen Geselleschaft für Herrn Parker Cleaveland,[6] in Boston, bey.

5. See *Goethes Briefe,* Weimar, vol. 32, p. 66 and Howe's *Life of Bancroft,* I, 69.

6. Parker Cleaveland (1780-1858), to whom Longfellow later addressed a Sonnet (appended to his *Keramos,* etc., 1873), was Professor at Bowdoin College, not in Boston. His only book, *An Elementary Treatise on Mineralogy and Geology,* Boston, 1816, was very valuable in its day, and soon became well known in Europe. It was reviewed by Horner in the *Edinburgh Review* for September, 1818, and by Professor Hausmann in the *Götting. gel. Anzeigen* for October 5, 1818. See also *North American Review* for November, 1817, p. 145. In June, 1818, Cogswell had sent a copy of the book to Goethe who began to read it at once with intense interest. He mentions Cleaveland in various letters and also in his works, in his "Sprüche" or Maxims or Aphorisms (Weimar ed, *Naturw. Werke,* XI, 106 f.; *Goethes Maximen und Reflexionen,* ed. Hecker, "Schriften des Goethe-Gesellschaft," XXI, no. 1271; 1907). Cleaveland's statement (p. 283), "It is extremely doubtful, whether any Basalt, strictly speaking, has yet been observed in the United States," is no doubt the source of Goethe's note written September 18, 1819 but first printed in the Weimar ed. (*Nat. Werke,* XIII, 314; cf. Morris in *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1905, p. 314), and also of the similar idea in his well-known poem "To the United States" ("An die Vereinigten Staaten," beginning "Amerika du hast es besser,"

Dieser würdige Mann hat gedachtem wissenschaftlichen Verein sein belehrendes Werk freundlich gesendet und verpflichtet uns zu dankbarer Anerkennung.

Nun aber frage ich an: wohin Sie die längst zugesagte Sendung meiner dichterischen and wissenschaftlichen Schriften wollen gerichtet wissen, die ich Ihrem vaterländischen Institut[7] mit Vergnügen wiedme [*sic!*], damit auch über dem Meere mein Andenken gestiftet sey.

Erhalten Sie mir Ihre freundlichen Gesinnungen und lassen mir [*sic!*] manchmal aus jener Weltgegend einiges erfahren. Wie ich denn versichern darf, dass Herrn Wardens Werk aufs fleissigste studirt werde, besonders auch der kleine Aufsatz aus dem Edinburgh Magazine mir die schönsten Aufschlüsse verliehen, so dass ich ihn nicht genug lesen und wieder lesen kann. Man lernt bedeutende, sich auf eine eigne naturgemässe Art entwickelnde Zustände kennen.[8]

Mit den aufrichtigsten Wünschen

treulich ergeben
J W v Goethe.

Weimar d. 29n. July 1819.

etc.) first printed in *Musenalmanach für das Jahr 1831. Herausgegeben von Amadeus Wendt,* Leipzig (the manuscript of this poem is now in the Hirzel Collection in the Leipzig University Library: an English translation appeared in *Fraser's Magazine* for May, 1831). This little discovery of ours was published with due credit by Max Hecker in his edition of *Goethes Sprüche in Reimen,* Leipzig, 1908, pp. 252 f. Cleaveland sent a copy of his 2d ed., 1822, 2 vols., to the Mineralogical Society of Jena, and was then elected an Honorary Foreign Member; but Goethe borrowed the book and never returned it! Cf. *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1904, pp. 7-10, 27-30. On the diplomas of the Jena Mineralogical Society see *Chronik des Wiener Goethe-Vereins,* VI, 30 (September 15, 1891) and IV, 8 f. (February 20, 1889), with facsimile.

7. Instead of "Ihrem vaterländischen Institut" one draft of this letter reads more significantly, "Ihrem Vaterland bestimme."

8. Warden's work is D. B. Warden's *Statistical, Political and Historical Account of the United States of North America,* 3 vols., Edinburgh, 1819, which Cogswell later reviewed in the *North American Review* for July, 1821, which Goethe received in May, 1822. Cogswell gave a copy of Warden's work to Goethe on May 10, 1819. At the end of the first volume of this copy is pasted a reprint of Cogswell's second anonymous essay "On the State of Learning in the United States of America," published in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* for March, 1819, where it had been preceded by a similar anonymous paper in the previous number. These two interesting and instructive essays were reviewed somewhat petulantly (by Sidney Willard) in the *North American Review* for September, 1819, without a suspicion that they were really written by a genuine New Englander, Cogswell!

This manuscript (quarto, letter written on pages 1 & 2; endorsed on page 4 by Cogswell "von Goethe. July 29, 1819.") was sold at Sotheby's with other letters, etc., then described as the property of Mrs. Burns, 4 Richmond Terrace, Whitehall (London) S.W. On October 12, 1924, Mrs. Evelyn Burns kindly wrote me that it "was found by my husband in an old scrap-book inherited by him, & I know nothing of its history." No doubt it had been presented by Cogswell to his friend, the elder Mrs. Burns, of Newport, R. I., as a contribution to her collection of autographs.[9]

Cogswell's reply from Dresden, August 8, 1819, is too long to be reprinted from the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* but we must quote the chief passage now in question:

Allow me to express to you in advance that gratitude, which I am confident, not only the Governors & Senate of that University, but the whole literary community of my country will feel for the distinguished honor you confer upon them. This library has long been the medium, thro' which the friends of learning in the old world have expressed their zeal for its advancement in the new; it enrols among its patrons many of the most liberal Maecenases & finest scholars, which Europe has had during the last two centuries, but there is no name upon its records, which it will be more proud to point out among its benefactors, than that of your Excellency.

On August 11, 1819, Goethe sent his works to Cogswell, with an accompanying letter and list of the books; and on the same day he also wrote a letter to Harvard University, now unfortunately extant only in an English translation (apparently in the handwriting of Edward Everett) preserved in the Harvard Archives. By some singular fatality the official letter of thanks to Goethe from the Harvard Corporation, dated November 27, 1819, seems not to have reached Goethe (or at least could not be found among his papers), and so it is known only from a manuscript in the Harvard Archives. However, Goethe certainly received at least Cogswell's grate-

9. Cf. Cogswell's *Life,* p. 267, etc.

ful letter of September 21, 1819 (printed in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1904).

Goethe wrote to Harvard University (according to its translation):[10]

> The above poetical & scientific works are presented to the library of the University at Cambridge in N. England, as a mark of deep Interest in its high literary Character, & in the successful Zeal it has displayed thro' so long a course of Years for the promotion of solid & elegant education. With the high respects of the Author. . . .

The works presented by Goethe were the following (according to the list retained by Goethe and the list in English translation preserved in the Harvard Archives and in the College Records):

Goethes Werke, 20 volumes, 1815-19.
Goethes Zur Farbenlehre, 2 volumes, & Plates in quarto, 1810.
Goethes Propyläen, 3 volumes, 1798-1800.
Goethes Philipp Hackert, 1811.
Goethes Ueber Kunst und Alterthum, Vol. I, and Heft 1 of Vol. II, 1816-18.
Goethes Zur Naturwissenschaft, Heft 1, 1817.
Goethes Zur Kenntniss der böhmischen Gebirge, 1817. 3 copies. [cf. *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1904, p. 32.]
Goethes Iphigenie, translated into modern Greek by Papadopulos, 1818. 3 copies.
Goethes Maskenzug, Dec. 18, 1818.

All of these books (except the extra duplicates sold before November 1, 1822) are still carefully preserved in the Harvard Library (they were withdrawn from general circulation some twenty-five years ago), and each of them still contains the library bookplate in use in 1819, and also the note written by some minor library official reading: "The

10. Goethe's letter to Harvard was printed for the first time by Prof. Kuno Francke in *The Nation,* New York, for May 22, 1890, from the MS. in Harvard College Papers, IX, 14. I collated this MS. before and after printing it again in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch.*

Gift/of the/Author/John W. von Goethe/of/Germany,/ Dec. 8, 1819." "The celebrated Goethe of Germany" is duly mentioned among distinguished donors to the library in its 1830 *Catalogue* (I, xii), and in the list of donors appended to Quincy's *History of Harvard University,* 1840.

The University replied as follows:[11]

University in Cambridge New England 27. Nov. 1819.

The Corporation received notice from Mr. Cogswell at Dresden that he had transmitted through the American Consul at Hamburgh the following works of J. W. v. Goethe viz. [here follows a list copied from that in the above translation of Goethe's letter to the University].

The same notice was accompanied by a note from the distinguished author in which he signifies that he presents the foregoing works to the Library of our University, & expresses Kind Sentiments & gives flattering testimonial in favor of the Institution.

The Corporation are highly gratified that the University in Cambridge N.England is an object of attention and interest to this celebrated writer, possessing so elevated a rank among the men of genius & literature in Europe. They receive with great Satisfaction the donation of his works for the Library, & return him the grateful acknowledgments of the University for this valuable proof of his regard.

John T. Kirkland
President.

Though we cannot undertake to bring our *Goethe-Jahrbuch* paper of 1904 up to date here we may at least now clear up a couple of matters relating to George Bancroft, still somewhat uncertain in 1904:

1. The "Herr Beresford aus der Gegend von Boston" who, according to Goethe's Diary, visited him on March 7 and 12, 1821, was of course really Bancroft; the account of the first of these two later visits is given in Howe's *Life of Bancroft,*

11. This letter of thanks seems to have been printed for the first time by me in *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1904, from the MS. copy preserved in Harvard College Papers, IX, 15. Subsequently that printed text was compared with the MS. and thus corrected in very minute details.

1908, and both are in *Goethes Gespräche,* ed. v. Biedermann, etc., II, 500 f., 1909; cf. p. 448, and Howe's *Bancroft* on Bancroft's previous visit.

2. The book on the original inhabitants of America which Bancroft on his previous visit, October 12, 1819, had promised to lend to Goethe (cf. Bancroft's letter to Goethe of November 10, 1819; *Goethe-Jahrbuch,* 1904, p. 19) was the volume *Transactions of the Historical & Literary Committee of the American Philosophical Society.* . . . Vol I, Philadelphia, 1819, consisting mainly of "An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs, of the Indian Nations, who once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighbouring States. By the Rev. John Heckewelder, of Bethlehem"; of which famous account the German translation, by Hesse, with a critical preface by Prof. G. E. Schulze finally appeared at Göttingen in 1821. The Transactions volume is mentioned in Goethe's Diary, January 30, 1821, among books then just received from Carl August; probably this is the copy still in the Weimar Library. The original was reviewed by Hale and Pickering in the *North American Review* for June, 1819, of which Goethe received a copy from Cogswell (cf. Cogswell's letter of August 8, 1819).

Finally we may give the title of our own private reprint of Goethe's very interesting drawing comparing the heights of the mountains in the old and in the new worlds, sketched while reading Humboldt's *Ideen zu einer Geographie der Pflanzen* (Vienna, 1811; dedicated to Goethe!), and showing de Saussure on the summit of Montblanc, *ca.* 2425 fathoms high (the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* gives 15,782 feet or 2630 fathoms), Humboldt *ca.* 3040 fathoms up on Chimborazo (shown as *ca.* 3350 fathoms high), and Gay-Lussac in a balloon at an altitude of 3600 fathoms—all measured from sea level. A large alligator is shown in the water at sea level be-

low the American mountains. Our reprint is entitled *Höhen der alten und neuen Welt bildlich verglichen von Goethe. Mit einem Tableau. Aus Bertuchs Allgemeinen Geographischen Ephemeriden (Mai 1813) in 100 Exemplaren zur 25. Generalversammlung der Goethe-Gesellschaft am 18. Juni 1910 besonders abgedruckt von Leonard L. Mackall* (text printed in Weimar, facsimile made in Munich).

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CLASSIFICATION

SOME CONSIDERATIONS REGARDING THE RELATION OF BOOK OR LIBRARY CLASSIFICATION TO THE "ORDER OF THE SCIENCES"

BY CHARLES MARTEL

THE Library of Congress, at the beginning of its reorganization (1898), had a collection of 750,000 volumes and a very inadequate system of classification. What plans for its development were forthwith put in action is perhaps most briefly and comprehensively expressed by the fact that the library now contains over 3,700,000 volumes, of which over one-third belong to history and the social sciences. After a careful study of available schemes and of the experience of other libraries, the decision was reached that the character of its collections and the conditions of their use called for the construction of a classification designed to satisfy the library's own requirements, with no direct deference to the possible use of it by other libraries. In reaching this conclusion, it had to be taken into account that besides acquisitions by purchase, official exchange with state and foreign governments, and the Smithsonian deposit of the publications of learned institutions and societies, the library contains a large body of copyright material and accumulations from different sources, material of a mixed kind, which in university libraries and those of other learned bodies, developed more exclusively by systematic selection, is represented in comparatively negligible quantities. Provision for this material had to be made and was managed by appropriate form or subject subdivisions without allowing the

scientific order of the subjects under which they were introduced to be affected thereby. Critics, troubled at first sight by such provisions not found in more purely theoretical schemes familiar to them, have later recognized their usefulness in classifying left over refractory material which they would find themselves at a loss to dispose of otherwise. These divisions may be ignored or eliminated without other modification of the schemes by libraries which do not need them.

In drafting the general plan of the classification, the "order of the sciences," as represented, with important variations, in works on the organization of science and, with more variations, in certain theoretical systems of classification, was not ignored. But in the eventual determination of the order and scope of the classes and in constructing the schemes of individual classes and subclasses and working out their detail, the theory and history of the subjects and their relations as represented in the actually existing books, individually and collectively, constituted the principal basis for the schemes. The character of the collections, the special development in the Library of Congress of the historical and social sciences justified, nay required, the treatment and placing first of the humanistic group. From the standpoint of the reference service of the library the separation of Religion from Philosophy, and the placing of Art, Literature, History, and Religion at the end, with the physico-mathematical, biological, and social sciences proper preceding, would be a positive disadvantage, whatever interest or speculative value that arrangement might possess from the standpoint of methodology of classification, not to mention that there is by no means unanimity as to the scope, coördination, and subordination of physical and cultural anthropology and the social sciences in the canon of the "order of the sciences." Moreover, scientific discoveries revealing truer truths continually affect the understanding of the real, the absolute relation of things and ideas,

and call for revised orientations in their theoretically accepted order. In this connection it may be noted that in large libraries the sequence of the main classes in actual location in the stacks rarely follows strictly the order of the classes in the system of classification. Special reference collections, classes most in demand by readers, must be placed nearest to the reading rooms and special reference departments. Distribution of shelving space in the building may compel accommodation in the distribution of classes in other than their order according to the scheme of classification.

The same reasons which determined the positions, in the system, of History and the Social Sciences also justified preference in favor of these classes in the collocation of subjects related in some of their aspects to other classes. This is notably the case with the subjects grouped as subclasses in class C, History—Auxiliary sciences, and G, Geography—Anthropology —Folk-lore—Manners and customs—Sports and games, amusements. This latter group including on the one hand the material dealing with the earth as the abode of man and as the theater, the stage, of his history and his social activities, and on the other with primitive man himself, his being in social infancy and in transition to civilized state, has been found a most satisfactory association of subjects difficult to allocate. Physical Geography (GB) and Oceanography (GC) might have been excepted and placed with Geology (QE). Much and important material on these subjects is found, however, in the periodicals and collections in General Geography (class G) and certain aspects connect them with GF, Anthropogeography—their position in class G is not without its advantage. All subjects of this character which include aspects relating them more or less closely to other subjects in other classes are represented in those classes by provision for an alternative classification indicating the actual classification preferred in the Library of Congress; or, typical works of

special interest in two or more classes are represented in the card shelf list by duplicate entry in the classes concerned, where these entries serve at the same time as an effective reference connecting the related subjects. In important cases, such as, for example, Physical Geography mentioned above, a block dummy may be placed on the shelf, in this case in QE. If it were desired to transfer the books classified in GB to QE it may be done by affixing a small round "location" label QE to the books classified and labeled GB and place them on the shelf contiguous to QE. How special aspects of a subject or related subjects classified in different classes may be brought together temporarily or permanently by this device is shown very clearly and explicitly in Appendix A, page 417, in the recently published schedule of class P-PA. Libraries preferring to classify subject Bibliography with the respective subject classes may do it by this method with little trouble. The great advantage of keeping class Z, Bibliography, together is that in bibliographical research the special subject bibliography fails to answer the purpose of the searcher so frequently that resort must be had to the general, national, and trade bibliographies and to library catalogues and often with good result to other special subject bibliographies. When one source fails, approach from another angle often answers in bibliography. In the Library of Congress the most important bibliographies are to some extent duplicated for the service of special divisions.

Not all problems of the best collocation of special subjects which have several affinities have been settled with finality, by any means, but fewer and fewer remain. Best, most correct, or most practical, may change with circumstances and with the appearance of new related subjects. The practically unlimited flexibility and expansibility of the Library of Congress classification, the variety of notation devices for subdividing subjects by form, local, or subject subdivisions with-

out resorting to excessively long and complicated marks or symbols, permit not only the addition and incorporation of new subjects in the schedules wherever desired but would make it possible with a three-letter class symbol to substitute gradually class by class an entirely new set of schedules. Changes in the classification schedules are now printed on cards and can be furnished to libraries using the classification on the same terms as catalogue cards.

The reclassification and recataloguing of the library are not entirely completed, but all of the schedules are in print except foreign modern languages and literatures and a general consolidated index. Not counting certain temporary partial subclass schedules, but including the *Outline Scheme* there are twenty-two separate schemes, a number of them in revised editions. The Law Library also remains as a special problem. The collection is only partially catalogued and provisionally classified in broad form subdivisions under the jurisdictions as main classes.

Since the schedules first began to appear in print criticisms and notices have not been lacking, many of them valuable and constructively helpful,[1] with here and there a rather unintelligent growl based on hasty prejudgment and evident ignorance of the content of the schedules. The library does not recommend the adoption of its classification to other libraries, but has made the schedules as freely accessible for examination as possible. A number of large and smaller university and college libraries, a few public and business libraries, several government department and other special libraries, upward of a hundred to date, including a few libraries outside of the United States, mostly in Great Britain, have after examination adopted the classification, and from

1. Cf. E. C. Richardson, *Classification, Theoretical and Practical*, 1912, pp. 136-140; W. C. Berwick Sayers, *Manual of Classification*, 1926; Henry E. Bliss, in his unpublished treatise on classification.

some of them and from other quarters highly gratifying appreciations have reached the library. They find in the system as a whole, as well as in the individual schedules, a natural, logical development in the order of the subjects and a provision of detail facilitating the arrangement of the material they actually have to deal with, such as they have not found in any other available scheme known to them. It may be pardonable to quote one example of such an expression: "Our conclusion is that the Congress schedules are such as will admit of the exact classification of the bulk of the world's literature to date at the lowest possible cost; and that in this respect the class headings of the Congress scheme have reached the theoretical high-water mark of efficiency indicated in the preceding chapters."[2]

Those who have given, amid the stress and strain of the rising giant structure which is the Library of Congress, a lifetime effort to build one practically tested, theoretically sound, library classification, feel that with more than twenty-four hours a day and with more knowledge, ability, and energy than they had at their disposal, the ideal they were striving for might have been more nearly approximated. If the result falls short of what would have been accomplished under more favorable conditions, the classification is, nevertheless, a considerable factor in helping to make reference work and bibliographical research efficient and rapid to a degree at the Library of Congress. May it justify the trust that it deserves to rank modestly among the achievements of the administration of Herbert Putnam.

2. E. Wyndham Hulme, "The principles of classification," in *Library Assoc. Record,* XIV (1912), 43-44.

THE PERFECT DAY OF AN ITINERANT PEACEMAKER

BY LAWRENCE MARTIN

JUST as we were getting into the outskirts of Marburg, Styria, early one morning, ten years ago, our automobile was stopped by two excited Austrians. They begged us to take all the machine guns away from the Yugoslav garrison in the city. Marburg is inhabited chiefly by German-speaking Austrians. The country district surrounding it is populated largely by Slovenes, one type of South Slavs or Yugoslavs in the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. The Austrians told us that, unless the machine guns were removed, there would surely be bloodshed—a grim prophecy which was to be realized before noon that day.

The day was bitter cold. We had left Graz, capital of Styria in Austria, soon after dawn. A January snow covered the ground deeply. Ahead was an automobile carrying an American lieutenant colonel of the Regular Army, his lieutenant assistant, and an Austrian representative. Behind it was another, with an American assistant professor of history as well as the teller of this tale.

We were going to Carinthia, an Austrian province southwest of Styria and about halfway from Vienna to Trieste, to draw a line of demarcation between Yugoslav and Austrian troops who had been having a little war. Our task was to try to make their armistice durable enough to last until the Peace Conference in Paris could decide upon permanent boundaries between Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy. Counselor Hoffinger of the Austrian Foreign Office and a group of Carinthians in Graz had given us Austrian maps and data;

now we were going to Marburg to see General Maester, obtain Slovene information, and hear Yugoslav advocates.

At this time, although all dressed up as a major of the General Staff, U.S. Army, the author of this essay was really engaged in the professional work of his own guild. He was one of the members of the staff of Field Observers, attached to the Secretariat of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace, that efficient American peace army which assembled at Paris after the armistice, recruited from the United States or from various American army and navy units in France and Italy, armed with brains, education, and disinterested zeal, and backed by the heavy artillery of a well-chosen library of books, loaned by the present Librarian of Congress, by a dozen American universities, and by the members of the peace army itself.

The writer's general errand in Central Europe during the armistice was that of a geographer, wearing military garb, to be sure, and traveling under army orders issued by General Tasker H. Bliss, but collaborating with American diplomats and with other technical experts in his own and allied professions. He studied geographical problems, secured maps and geographical publications, and all sorts of other books for the territorial and regional specialists of the American Commission at Paris, as well as for the librarian of the Commission. In a minor way like Dr. Herbert Putnam, who was then General Director of the A.L.A. Library War Service in France and, subsequently, librarian of the American Commission, the writer was engaged in part in an unmistakable library task of gathering maps, map information, and books for the library of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace; but he was also a fortunate itinerant maker of peace.

Upon this occasion in Carinthia and Styria, the writer of this essay was one of four members of the staff of the late

Professor Archibald Cary Coolidge, the American Commissioner or armistice-time Ambassador at Vienna, and himself the Librarian of Harvard University.

The writer was one of the group of specialists in the Division of Territorial, Economic, and Political Intelligence of the American Commission in Paris, temporarily detached for duty with the Field Observers in Central Europe. Afterward at Quai d'Orsay in Paris, he had a little to do with the Anglo-French-Italian-Japanese-American discussions that led to the plebiscite in the Klagenfurt Basin of Carinthia, assisting Professor Charles Seymour, an American regional specialist on Austria-Hungary, at a few meetings of the International Committee for the Study of Territorial Questions relating to Rumania and Yugoslavia. Subsequently he had a similar relationship for a longer time to Professor Coolidge, upon this Committee and the International Committee Charged with Studying the Observations of the Austrian Delegation regarding the Draft Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye.

This essay will describe a day's work, such as Americans on duty with the Peace Conference not infrequently had to do.

It is impossible to say here in full what it was all about, and why we were motoring from Graz to Marburg that frosty morning in January, 1919. Please observe that, although speaking of this as "a perfect day," I make an emphatic reservation, at the end, regarding its perfection.

After hearing the warning of the excited Austrians who predicted bloodshed in Marburg, we promised to investigate the situation at once. Then we drove on. In the city hall of Marburg, then the headquarters of the Yugoslav major general commanding in southern Styria and Carinthia, we met a delegation of Slovenes and other Yugoslavs—professors, priests, lawyers, and business men. They devoted the fore-

noon to an able exposition of the Yugoslav aspiration regarding southeastern Carinthia and southern Styria. But their exhibition of maps, their statistical statements, and their arguments were constantly interrupted.

First the telephone. The general was to be shot that day as he went to luncheon. We had just accepted his invitation to break bread with him at noon. An Austrian machine gunner in a second-story window was to assassinate the Yugoslav commander, and presumably his American guests.

"Which window?"

"Not yet located. The search is continuing."

Next an intercepted letter was brought in and shown us.

"If the American colonel and his associates are murdered while on Yugoslav soil the correspondent will pay 25,000 marks."

The correspondent appeared to be a somewhat-bolshevik Austrian in another city. The reward offered was $6,000, more or less.

Finally, loud cheering diverted us once more from the interesting and well-stated Yugoslav case. The square outside the city hall was packed with Austrians—men, women, children, even babes in arms. They had come to demonstrate to the Americans that Marburg, with 26,500 people, is a German-speaking city. They serenaded us by singing—guess what—"Die Wacht am Rhein," of course. And this was only sixty days or so after the armistice!

"Would the high, well-born colonel-lieutenant a few words speak?"

"No. That would be discourteous to our Yugoslav host."

He did finally show himself on the balcony. Then the crowd dispersed, still singing. But there was to be little singing in Marburg that night.

We applied ourselves to the work in hand. We learned

much about the geography, ethnography, history, religion, resources, transportation, school system, government, and everything else concerning Carinthia and Styria. There were books. There were maps. There were diagrammatic graphs. And still more books! It was not exactly the same story we had heard in Graz. Oh, propaganda! Subtlest of arts! But it was about the same proportion complete, about the same proportion true, and fair, and just, and wise, as the Austrian story. Much that each side told us was honestly believed in by the tellers, a very large proportion.

Finally we finished. One Yugoslav representative was to go with us throughout Carinthia, a capable Slovene priest to balance our one capable Austrian naval officer, a *frigattenkapitan*.

Now for luncheon. At the automobile a cheering row of anti-Yugoslav, pro-American Austrians rent the air in German. A cheering row of anti-Austrian, pro-American Yugoslavs sewed the air up and tore it wide open again in Slovene. We climbed into the car, thinking nervously, hopefully, that the second-story window containing the machine gun must surely have been located by that time, that the man who desired to earn those 25,000 marks surely couldn't be in the cheering crowd, perhaps planning to earn the reward by tossing a hand grenade into the car. The car was certainly on what might be considered Yugoslav soil. Happy thoughts for itinerant peacemakers! What *was* the general waiting for?

The chauffeur got out. It had stopped snowing and the top of the car was to be let back; to this day I haven't an intelligent idea why. Did the general, courteously, want to give the machine gunner a chance to aim better, since he only wanted to kill a Yugoslav general? Did the general, selfishly, want the top back so a possible bomb-thrower could aim better, since the latter wanted to kill nothing but American

colonels, majors, and professors? Did the general think we ought all to be visible, since we mutually protected each other? Probably he had forgotten all about it. You see the general had lived in western Austria-Hungary and the Balkans all his life.

Luncheon was interminable. But while we ate, people were dying. The Austrians will always speak of what happened as the Massacre at Marburg. They, however, and not the Yugoslavs, were clearly to blame.

Just as we were leaving the dining room, a young woman approached and said:

"Oh, make them stop killing the Austrians."

At the same moment an aide-de-camp came up and saluted the general smartly, reporting that a crowd of Austrians had gathered in the chief square of the city, through which the Americans must pass in leaving Marburg. Yugoslav soldiers had been sent to keep order. An Austrian had knocked down the lieutenant in charge. His sergeant, without command, had opened on the crowd with a machine gun. There were eight killed, a score wounded.

The general expressed his deep regret, and promised a full investigation. We drove to the square through silent streets. The soldiers were still there. There were crimson blotches of blood upon the white snow. The last ambulance was just leaving. The crowd had vanished, except for a sullen individual here and there. We interrogated our chauffeur who had been an eyewitness. He was an Austrian, but he corroborated the story of the Yugoslavs in all respects. He said that an Austrian civilian was nettled by the presence of the local detachments of the Yugoslav army of occupation, which was merely trying to keep a clear lane through the square for the Americans' automobiles to pass. He lost his head, and knocked down an officer.

There was no massacre at Marburg. What occurred was identically what would have happened in Coblenz in 1918-19 if a German had knocked down an American officer, and a virile American sergeant faced the danger of having his machine guns taken away from him by a mob. It was lamentable, unavoidable. I shall never cease to regret that noncombatants died while trying to demonstrate to me the nationality of their city, and especially that one of the victims was a child.

We drove westward up the valley of the Drave toward the Austrian lines. Soon two automobiles roared up behind us. Who was it? Some one trying to collect those 25,000 marks?

The cars bore the Yugoslav blue, white, and red target on their radiators. Merely two cars that the general was courteously placing at our disposal for use in Carinthia with the two Austrian cars we had brought from Graz. But one car kept ahead of us and one behind all that afternoon, except when the leader broke down in a snowy ditch and I passed him. Evidently the Yugoslav general was not anxious to afford bolshevik Austrians unnecessary opportunities to collect those 25,000 marks while we were on Yugoslav soil.

The gorge of the Drave is beautiful, especially in newfallen snow. It reminds one of the Hudson in the Highlands. But there were many curves, it was an unconscionably long distance to the foaming river below, and we were always slipping off the road into the ditch. Thus my car passed the colonel's and the Yugoslav pilot car which was pulling his automobile back into the road. Then they passed us, and finally we took the lead again.

We came to the last Yugoslav outpost west of Marburg. A trench; a little wire; it was like being back in France or Italy again. No-man's-land was unusually wide; and the Austrian outpost had not been warned that we were coming by that road.

A gray-coated Austrian soldier in the road.

"Halt!"

The car lurched, skidded, continued slowly toward the sentry.

"Halt!"

Cocking his piece, over the radiator, full at my chest, and only six feet away.

We explained in German that we were Americans, not Yugoslavs, pointing to the thirteen-striped and nine-starred version of the American flag that the Austrians had made for us in Graz. An officer was called from the guardhouse a few paces down the road. More explanations; he passed us; and we vanished in a cloud of snow, after leaving word that another American car, and two authorized Yugoslav cars were following.

We arrived at the village of Unterdrauburg on the Styrian-Carinthian boundary. Our American colleague and his Yugoslav priest and Austrian naval officer were well astern. The chauffeur parked the car crossways of the narrow street so the colonel could not pass, and we went into the village inn for coffee. One never gets away from Hotels Bristol and Hotels de la Poste in unimaginative Europe. It was the *Gasthof der Post.*

Warm, refreshed by *ersatz* coffee, made of burned kernels of corn, for there was no real coffee in Austria—but with real cream—we thought of our situation and our problem. It seemed only yesterday that I had been in Venetia, Italy, at first on duty with General Charles G. Treat, and, at the end of the war, attached to the 332d American Infantry Regiment. We were advancing from the Piave to the Tagliamento River with Italian, British, French, and Czechoslovak troops. Oh, those days of forced marches, living on milk and raw, lukewarm corn meal or *polenta*—our Italian-American

doughboys from Ohio and western Pennsylvania had crossed several large rivers which the American supply-trains could not pass till temporary bridges were erected. Oh, those nights of sleeplessness—excitement of active service with troops, coupled with attentions from Austro-Italian cooties. One could hardly imagine that within two months he would be 140 miles to the northeast in Austria, still wearing his American uniform, traveling with an Austrian naval officer, a Slovene priest, two American fellow soldiers, and an American professor who spoke Slovene, and that we would be trying to keep the enemy-Austrians and the enemy-Croats and Slovenes from fighting each other.

Who would have dreamed of such good luck as geographical fieldwork on boundary problems for the Peace Conference?

I recalled that shortly after the armistice local Slovenes and local Austrians had ejected the Yugoslav troops from Carinthia. Austrian troops and other Yugoslav troops had then come in. They could not agree about occupation of the territory. A real war was to begin,—little but bloody, and entirely unnecessary. The last armistice meeting was breaking up in angry failure.

Then came a big, wise, courageous, disinterested American, a General Staff officer on duty in Carinthia, Styria, and Yugoslavia for the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. This was Colonel Sherman Miles—*miles*—a soldier and the son of a soldier.

He said in military, diplomatic, horse-sense French, and, at that, the sort of French one learns in Chicago and inflects according to Russian and Balkan style, something very different from the words below but to this effect:

"Look here, boys," and as he was an American, and spoke neither German nor Slovene, they listened trustingly, "I don't

want to see you go to killing each other. You don't really want to have a war. And, besides, it will get the pondering papas in Paris down on you both.

"Now what do you think of this proposition? Let me draw a line of demarcation between your armies of occupation. Will you?"

"Why not?" they answered in bilingual chorus, and wrote on a piece of paper an agreement to do so. Diplomats would call it a *procès-verbal,* or a protocol; but it was just a piece of paper. Thanks to Colonel Miles that piece of paper stopped a war and saved goodness knows how many lives.

So it was agreed. Colonel Miles sent his lieutenant to Vienna to ask the approval of Prof. Archibald Cary Coolidge, our chief. The Yugoslavs secured all necessary permissions and approvals, and so did the Austrians. Professor Coolidge, a librarian, a historian of international reputation, one of America's great men and capable diplomats, clamped his teeth on his instructions, his courage, and his precedents, and approved tentatively, telegraphing President Wilson and our Commission in Paris to ask if it was all right.

Then he sent the writer of this narrative, whom he was good enough to say he regarded as a geographical expert, and said he would soon send a professor from Missouri who spoke Slovene and understood some phases of the Yugoslav problem, to assist Colonel Miles and the lieutenant in drawing a provisional line of demarcation in Carinthia.

A hectic day of gathering up maps, books, and statistical data in the wonderful libraries of Vienna! A glorious, snowy, automobile ride from Vienna over the Semmering Pass to Graz! Then we were off on our first American field investigation of a Peace Conference problem. On the morning of the twenty-second of January Professor Coolidge gave me my formal instructions; that evening I sat beside Colonel Miles

and Lieutenant King at a plenary session with the *Landeshauptmann* (Governor) of Styria, named Dr. van Kaan, with General Commissioner Smodej, and a number of other officials and officers; half of them had Slavic names, half had Teutonic names, and all of them were determined to do everything possible to facilitate our work and to keep their respective soldiers and the civil population of Slovene Carinthia and Austrian Carinthia from unnecessary warfare.

An hour passed in the *Gasthof der Post* at Unterdrauburg, but the colonel had not yet come up. His car just loved ditches. Obviously we would have to spend the night at this inn.

We called our hostess.

"Are there rooms?"

"Yes, Mr. Major."

We were shown a large room with two beds and the omnipresent porcelain stove. I engaged it for the colonel and myself, asking for two more rooms, and places for four chauffeurs. There were no more rooms in the inn, but the town major could provide billets outside. We were back in the Yugoslav lines at this point; but my companion spoke Slovene, so matters could be arranged.

As we were going downstairs from the fine room in the Gasthof we heard the proprietress casually mention to the chauffeur, in German, that a Yugoslav officer had been murdered in bed in that very room the night before.

On second thought I gave up my place in that room, taking a billet outside. The colonel and the lieutenant, coming later, slept soundly in the tragic room; for who was I that I should seize upon the best place merely because I happened to arrive first?

Such was the end of a perfect day. Next morning I told them about the deceased Yugoslav officer.

Going on into Carinthia, the morning after my Perfect Day, my companions and I commenced the studies that led to the drawing of the armistice line, to the plebescite in the Klagenfurt Basin, and eventually to the establishment of the present frontier between Yugoslavia and Austria in the eastern foothills of the Alps.

What is the nature of the geographical, linguistic, historical, economic, and political field work upon which the American recommendations regarding armistice lines and international boundaries were made?

It consisted of interrogating peasants on farms and along the road, merchants in villages, priests in churches, teachers in schoolhouses, lawyers, officials of all sorts, about everything under the sun.

"Would you prefer to be ruled by Austria or by Yugoslavia?"

"Were your markets before the war northward toward Vienna, eastward toward Marburg, or southward toward Trieste across the rugged Karawanken?"

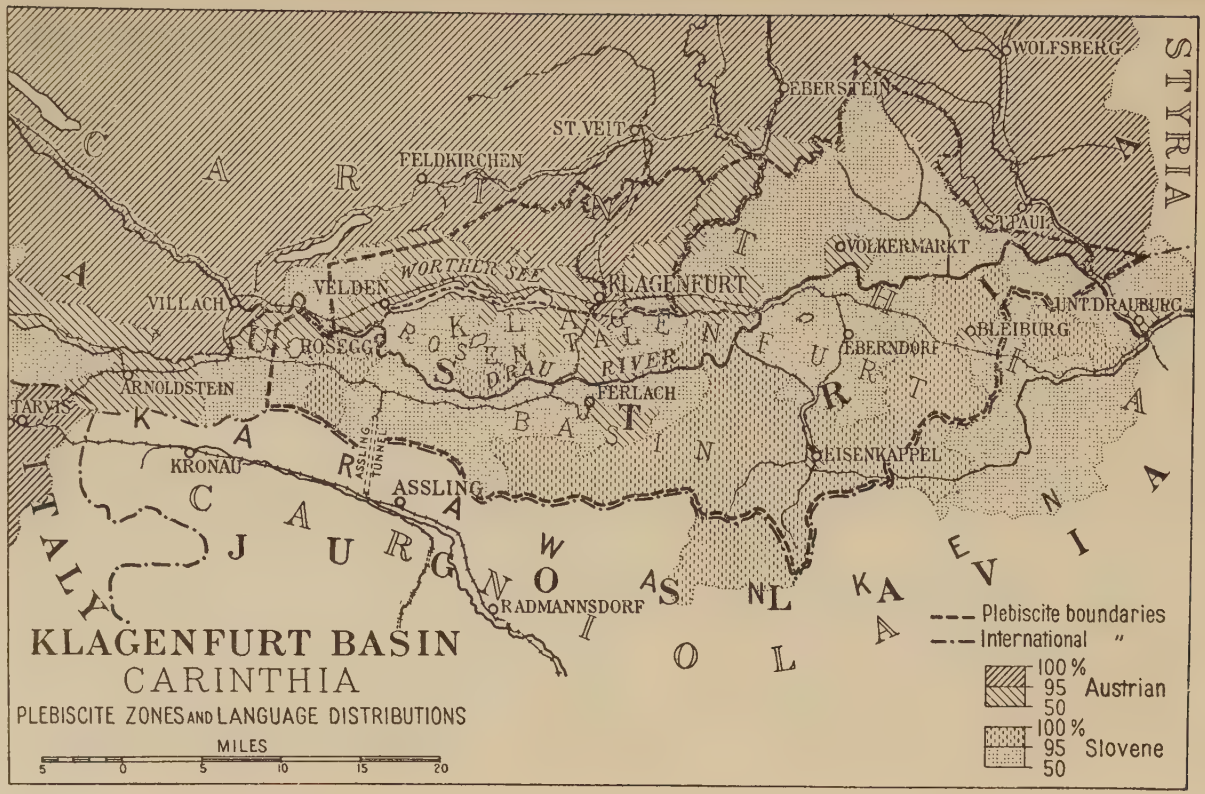
"Is the majority of the people in this village Austrian or Slovene?"

"Of course, we know that they are Carinthian; but where did your grandfathers come from? And what language did they speak?"

Enter the *Utraquistical* school, where instruction is in two languages. Enter the famous *Umgangssprache,* or language of habitual communication. Enter the Wendish, an ancient pre-Slovene tongue. And enter the cautious peasant, pretending not to know.

Oh, yes. Why stop with the living?

The lieutenant slips away to the graveyard to copy inscriptions from tombstones, the stone books of biography. Beautiful word the Germans have for a place of burial! *Friedhof!*


WOLFSBERG
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VOLKERMARKT
VILLACH
VELDEN
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UNT. DRAUBURG
ROSEGG
ROSENTAL
DRAU RIVER
EBERNDORF
BLEIBURG
ARNOLDSTEIN
FERLACH
JARVIS
KRONAU
ASSLING TUNNEL
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RADMANNSDORF
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International "
100 %
95
50
Austrian
100 %
95
50
Slovene

The house of peace! If Slovene surnames had been used habitually in that village for three hundred years and more, then they should appear in the places of burial. And they did. Other Friedhofs told varying stories.

Everywhere there were demonstrations, although we tried to evade them by frequently changing our minds about where to go first. Once we left our automobiles and jingled up to a mountain top in sleighs to visit a village of ambiguous nationality, arriving in time to catch the mountain housewives sewing multicolored ribbons of a certain patriotic hue on the caps of all the men. As if they wore them all the time! Often we encountered rival demonstrations in the same village, leaving amidst mingled stentorian choruses:

"Hoch! Hoch!" from the Austrians.

"Zivios! Zivios!" from the Slovenes.

There were many distractions. We did not have another day as eventful as the one in Marburg, but there were interesting moments. One day a bullet zinged too close to my ear for comfort; but the peasant who fired it was merely shooting his gun into the air out of joy of living, and we became warm friends when we found our surnames to be the same. A geographer interested in glaciers naturally could not forget that there must be an easternmost terminal moraine of the vanished Drave ice tongue to look for, but he was not prepared to find it planted with machine guns, and the road across it blockaded with trunks of great pines. One cannot think exclusively of boundaries and territorial problems when he has to leave his maps and notes and hire a peasant to come and harness a bull to the front of the automobile to pull it out of the ditch. An American never gets quite used to the bared and bowed head of every roadside peasant who observed our passing. A neutral peacemaker naturally objects when he learns that soldiers of one nationality had pricked

peasants of another nationality out of town with bayonets just before his arrival.

We studied various maps. We were not in a library; a map is not a book; but the study at night in an Austrian inn was of the same sort that one carries on at home. Was this territory chiefly Austrian or chiefly Yugoslav in character? I recall one map, for example. It depicts the *Ducatus Stiriae* (Duchy of Styria), but also includes southeastern Carinthia. It shows Marburg as a walled city. Upon this map one of the rivers is denominated *Olckza Fl.,* a good Slavic name, perhaps even pre-Slovene or Wendish, though when we were doing geographical fieldwork in Carinthia they had replaced it by the name of its seventeenth century tributary, the *Gurk*. But, for each Slavic place name like *Gurnicz* on the ancient map—it was *Gurnitz* in 1919—I found scores of Teutonic place names, ending in *stein* (stone), in *berg* or *perg* (mountain), or in *burg* or *dorff* (village).

The map had been compiled in Bavaria from a large *Karte von Steiermark,* published by an Austrian in 1678; the smaller one which I had was made long ago; its author was John Baptist Homann of Noriberga. He reduced it from the twelve-sheet map by George Matthew Vischer, geographer to His Sacred Catholic Majesty Leopold I, of glorious memory, who reigned from 1658 to 1705 A.D.

Do you suppose the seventeenth-century geographer dreamed that his map would be discovered and used by an itinerant twentieth century geographer from the wilderness of North America, doing geographical fieldwork in His Sacred Catholic Majesty's Archduchy of Austria, traveling in the uniform of the army of the United States of America, and reporting to a great Peace Conference in Paris about where the boundaries of proud and venerable Austria might be? I hope some map of mine will live as long!

But this shows what maps can be used for. Maps, multi-shaped, parti-colored, dust-gathering objects, the bane of every librarian's existence, which he has to keep—they do have serious uses. This one of Vischer and Homann told us many things, not excluding the character of Carinthian place names two and a half centuries ago. It was not supplied by the German-speaking Austrians of Carinthia, but was casually purchased by us in a secondhand bookstore at Graz in January, 1919. As evidence it was a little less decisive than the epitaphs we found on gravestones, and the century-old records of births, deaths, and marriages which the Carinthian Fathers showed us in the church and monastery registers. Nevertheless, although I do not care much, personally, for historical arguments regarding territorial claims, this ancient map and many similar ones show definitely that the Teutonic character of southeastern Carinthia goes back more than two centuries. It is not a 1919 invention of the Austrians, for Peace Conference propaganda, as was asserted by a few of the Yugoslavs.

Ten days were all that we could devote to this preliminary field investigation of the Klagenfurt Basin. During this time we made an informal poll of the views and preferences of all sorts of persons in representative portions of the *Herzogtum Kärnten* (the old Duchy of Carinthia). It is one of the bonniest lands on earth, walled in between the snowy Hohe Tauern and the Norische Alpen on the north, the Karnische Alpen and the Karawanken on the south, and lower mountains on the east and west. The Karawanken are mountains similar to the Canadian Rockies or the Front Range in Glacier National Park, Montana. Smaller than Connecticut, with more people than the whole state of Montana of that time, part of them Austrians, part Slovenes, it presents a vexing problem. There are 380,000 people in the whole of Carinthia. The Austrians

consider that 79 per cent are Austrians and only 21 per cent Slovenes. The Yugoslavs dispute these figures. It is impossible to say who is right. Certainly southeastern Carinthia is predominantly Slovene.

We were drawing an armistice line, but we also gathered information respecting a larger problem. This may be stated as follows: What should be done with a mountain basin, containing a mixed population of Yugoslavs and Austrians, separated from Yugoslavia by a practically impassable mountain barrier, and trading habitually with Austria?

Before going there I thought the problem could be simply solved by division of the territory. After studying the question on the ground, a solution was clear; but it was not my original solution, nor was it easy to put into effect.

What we found after motoring over the snowy roads, visiting farms, villages, and castles, interrogating everyone, was that an overwhelming majority of the people seemed to prefer that Carinthia should not be divided. Austrian landowners even stated their willingness to have the basin go to Yugoslavia as a whole; Slovene residents were not opposed to having it allocated as a unit to Austria; but practically none of the people who live there wanted it divided. Much to my surprise the majority of the Slovenes thought it wiser that they should continue to be subjects of Austria.

It all resulted in a clear and definite conclusion, to me at least. I decided then, once for all, that Carinthia ought not to be divided. It is better for the Carinthians that the Klagenfurt Basin be retained by Austria, except for a tiny area south of Seeberg Pass. Economic relationships, today and in the future, demand this, and it seemed to me to be the unmistakable will of all the people. Yugoslavia has no just claim to this territory. Speaking personally and for myself alone, I should have given all of Carinthia to Austria without further ado.

I went back to Carinthia for two days the following spring, leaving the night before an unauthorized invasion of the basin by Yugoslav troops. Nothing that I learned on my second visit, and nothing that has happened subsequently, leads me to depart from my original conclusion.

I do not feel at liberty to state what our official recommendations were, or what happened subsequently in the international commissions and in the Council of Four at Paris, for a plebiscite was held in a carefully defined area of southeastern Carinthia.

The population of the plebiscite area in the Klagenfurt Basin is about 132,000 people, or nearly as many as in Wyoming; they are said to be 82 per cent Yugoslav and 18 per cent Austrians. The voting resulted in a decision in favor of Austria, and in settling the boundary between that country and Yugoslavia. The plebiscite vote was actually held at eighty polling places on October 10, 1920. Nearly 96 per cent of the possible voters exercised the franchise, and it is remarkable that not far from three-fifths of them voted in favor of Austria, since more than four-fifths of those voting were Slovene-speaking Yugoslavs. Numerically, by official announcement, the vote was 22,025 for Austria against 15,279 for Yugoslavia.

One feels very callous and cruel in writing of that busy day in Graz, Marburg, and Unterdrauburg as *a perfect day*. To be sure, it was perfect from the point of view of being cram full of interesting occurrences and being a good start on an itinerant peacemaker's geographical field studies; but it was really a horrid day, a tragic day! People died at Marburg unnecessarily, while trying to demonstrate to my companions and to me that they were patriotic Austrians. The Yugoslav troops were not to blame; the visiting Americans were not to blame; but that doesn't bring the dead to life.

Could you ever forget a dear little child in Marburg, bleeding to death in the snow? So with the plebiscite in the Klagenfurt Basin; a plebiscite wasn't really necessary, as I hope the libraries of the world will record; but one was held; and every reasonable body is satisfied with the results—everybody but the mothers of the dead.

Still and all, though American participation in postwar readjustments in Europe was terminated much sooner than was to my taste, the United States of America did help Carinthia with food, clothing, and disinterested advice. And, thanks to Woodrow Wilson and Herbert Hoover, the little children did say once in Carinthia:

"Americans are going to send us children good things to eat"

and again:

"God reward you."

CARDS AND COMMON SENSE

BY H. H. B. MEYER

IN discussions of the card catalogue it is quite generally admitted that the same intelligence, judgment, and care which have gone into the making of the cards have not been exercised in their arrangement and use. When the Library of Congress began printing its catalogue cards for general use by other libraries, some thirty years ago, American librarians were pretty generally committed to the idea of the dictionary catalogue. For small and for medium-sized libraries the dictionary catalogue has proven on the whole satisfactory. But for large libraries certain awkwardnesses and absurdities have been allowed to grow unhindered until they have forced themselves on the attention of catalogue makers, and are being subjected to scrutiny. For one thing the growth of the card catalogue in large libraries has been phenomenal and uncomfortable. It can only be likened to the growth of a coral reef. The individual accretions are small, but given time the results are colossal. What to do with the bulky thing has become a vital question in most large libraries excepting those built within the last two decades. When architects and librarians began to realize how much space was needed to hold the card catalogue they began providing a separate room for it near the reading room, but I question whether this is the best solution of the difficulty.

As a rule a reader is interested in one, or at most but a few small parts of a catalogue. At present we keep the whole of the enormous card catalogue in the presence of the reader all the time. Would it not be possible to devise a method through which only the parts of the catalogue in which a reader is interested would be left near him, while the rest of the cata-

logue would be kept in some space not quite so valuable as the reading room, which is the vital center of the library, where space is most precious?

The unrestricted and, one must admit, unconsidered filing of card after card according to the rather vaguely formulated rules under which the dictionary catalogue was started has resulted in such absurdities as the filing under the subject *obstetrics* of a card representing a treatise published in 1609. This is practically offering a treatise of that early date to a practitioner who is sure to want the latest word on the subject. The only person interested in that volume is the student of the historical development of the subject, and he is a rare bird indeed.

The filing of card after card representing one-volume manuals of American history resulted in one instance in a collection of about a thousand cards, only about ten of which would be to the purpose of the reader. Where these cards are filed in with the larger works the situation is still worse. What chance has a reader in search of a good up-to-date one-volume history of the United States, of making the right selection in such a mass of undifferentiated titles? Just about one in a hundred. If his search were restricted to ten or a dozen titles representing up-to-date, reliable, and readable treatises a real service would be rendered to him by the catalogue.

The "reader who wants all the literature on a subject" is the great bugaboo of the catalogue maker. He presents himself in two forms, the ignoramus who does not know for what he is asking, and the expert scholar thoroughly familiar with his subject who knows very well for what he is asking. The best way to amuse the former is to show him what a task he has before him, and to set him to work making his own list, or any other way that suggests itself to the alert librarian. The expert scholar knows his subject, probably has been

working for years on a bibliography, and is possessed of a much better list than anything the librarian, who must spread his interest over a thousand subjects, can furnish him. He usually comes to the large library with the hope of examining some book or pamphlet difficult to attain, because of its rarity, its great price, or obscurity. Should he wish to see all the literature in the library the shelf list offers a subject catalogue more easy to consult than the card catalogue.

The cards under the United States as author, with its numerous subdivisions, number at a modest estimate one hundred and twenty thousand. The difficulties inherent in the use of cards are perhaps greater in this section than in any other part of the card catalogue. Familiar as I am with official publications, yet I resort to other sources, special lists, the document catalogues issued by the Superintendent of Documents, and bureau lists and catalogues, rather than run the risk of being mired in this morass. It is however good to know that this collection of cards exists as a foundation record of United States public documents.

The size of the card catalogue is its great drawback, and whatever will eliminate even one card will find a receptive attitude on the part of librarians. It is under the subject headings that there has been the most inconsiderate filing, and the number of these cards is susceptible of considerable reduction. If an administrator, troubled at the use of valuable reading-room space for the card catalogue, should inform the catalogue makers and others interested that no more space would be taken from readers and given to the card catalogue, and that they must make the most of the space allotted, the process of eliminating the "dead wood" would begin in earnest. It has been suggested that the cards on certain important subjects be printed as subject lists. This will afford an additional relief, but is probably of limited application, to

well-defined important subjects of permanent interest. Only such would justify the expense of printing.

At present in most libraries the most valuable space, the reading room, is given to the card catalogue, the only exceptions being libraries provided with a separate room for the card catalogue. We keep the bulky card catalogue in the presence of the reader, whose interest is confined as a rule to only a small part of it, and for a very brief time. Could not this need of the reader be met if the card catalogue were taken out of the reading room and placed in an adjoining stack? Then on requisition from the reader the section of the catalogue in which he is interested, placed by an attendant in a small locked box, could be sent to the reader's desk. For example a reader who is interested in Stellite calls for the cards on this subject. The catalogue attendant takes them out of the catalogue and puts a colored slip in place of the cards to indicate that they have been taken out. He places them in a small box, locks them in, and sends them to the reading room where they are placed on the desk of the reader. The contingency will arise where two or more readers are interested in the same subject or author. In which event the box can circulate in the reading room, a duplicate set of the cards can be brought together, a photostat set of the cards can be made, or a photostat sheet or sheets can be prepared to meet a multiple demand. It needs no great flight of the imagination to picture in the future, scholars who occupy cubicles or desks at points distant from the catalogue being furnished with sections of the catalogue in which they are interested and so avoid the tedious delay and loss of time incidental to consulting the card catalogue. Should a reader wish to consult the catalogue himself he could easily be taken into the stack wherever it may be located and permitted to use it to his heart's content.

The need of a catalogue attendant who shall interpret the card catalogue to the reader will become more evident in the near future, whether the card catalogue remain in the reading room itself or the catalogue room, or be removed to some point just outside. The card catalogue is becoming an intricate thing, and someone expert in its make-up who stands ready to aid the reader is the next step in advance.

It has been suggested that subjects be completely separated from authors and titles. This would simplify the use in that it would eliminate one of the alphabets, always a stumbling-block to readers. It has been objected that where author and subject heading are the same this plan would make it necessary to look in two places, a difficulty not so hard to overcome as it appears.

It is a question whether cards in a language using an alphabet other than the Roman should not be filed in a separate catalogue. This is a movement for simplification. A book in the Russian language printed in the Cyrillic alphabet is of no direct use to a person limited to the use of the Roman alphabet. It is intended for a Russian reader who must come in somewhere to the aid of the reader not able to read Russian. Certainly a Russian reader prefers a Russian catalogue, and generally objects to hunting for Russian material in a Roman alphabet. To others their intermingling only adds to the litter.

READING COURSES

AN EXPERIMENT IN ADULT EDUCATION

BY CARL H. MILAM

THE publication in England in 1919 of the *First Report* of the Adult Education Committee of the Ministry of Reconstruction brought adult education to the attention of librarians, as well as to many others. To be sure the subject was not new. Librarians for generations had been interested in the education of adults. It is for that, in large measure, that public libraries exist. But the study of this report and of other publications, largely from England, served to put this aspect of library use into the minds of librarians in a new way. They were convinced, as a Commission on the Library and Adult Education expressed it a few years later, "that since books are fundamental factors in all education, librarians as collectors of books and organizers of public book service, have an unusual opportunity in, and a definite responsibility to, the cause of adult education."

In 1920 the American Library Association adopted an "enlarged program" which included a plan "to promote the education of adults" through "the preparation of reading and study courses which may be pursued by any person who has access to a library or who can purchase the books." The Association's experience in 1918 in preparing a series of short reading lists for discharged soldiers and sailors and a few reading courses on practical subjects in coöperation with the United States Bureau of Education, probably accounts, in some measure, for this proposal. During the next few years three or four simple courses on vocational subjects were issued, but for lack of funds the full scheme was not carried out.

Four years later, in 1924, the study of libraries made by Dr. W. S. Learned for the Carnegie Corporation of New York was completed and published. After advocating "an intelligence personnel" in public libraries, a sort of faculty of specialists to serve as readers' advisers, Dr. Learned said:

> There should be available at every intelligence center, for a nominal price, a series of readable syllabi covering practically all knowledge in brief coherent units of treatment. Each should be prepared by an acknowledged authority in the subject, should be handled in a cordial personal manner not without humor (think of William James!), like the informal conversations of a friend, and should be interwoven with specific references to books, pages, and paragraphs where the best elaboration of the point in question may be found. Thus in a few hours a layman could acquire a comprehensive view of say, modern American poetry and its significance through the eyes of some eminent critic and writer who would leave the reader with the impression of having had a personal letter on the subject. Authority, lucidity, vitality, and brevity would be the desiderata in these monographs; they should have wide circulation, and their successful authorship might well convey distinction of peculiarly rare quality.

With financial help from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, a reading course scheme was launched by the American Library Association in May, 1925, with the publication of *Biology,* by Vernon Kellogg, the first in a series entitled "Reading with a Purpose." Forty courses have now been published and a dozen more are in preparation. Each course is a booklet of from three to six thousand words on a subject of general interest, by a specialist in that subject. Most of the courses have two parts—an introduction to the subject, and a list of six or eight books for consecutive reading.

The aim has been to select, as authors of the booklets, men and women who could write with authority, but simply and interestingly. Though written *by* specialists, the courses are not *for* specialists. They are for men and women with high school education or less, who have not previously given spe-

cial attention to the subject. The authors have been asked to recommend books which are suitable to such readers, and of sufficient merit to deserve wide distribution. The courses were announced and are still considered as an experiment in adult education.

The subjects chosen for the first fifty courses are *non*-vocational. The first twelve titles and authors were: *Biology,* by Vernon Kellogg; *English Literature,* by W. N. C. Carlton; *Ten Pivotal Figures of History,* by Ambrose W. Vernon; *Some Great American Books,* by Dallas Lore Sharp; *Frontiers of Knowledge,* by Jesse Lee Bennett; *Ears To Hear; a Guide for Music Lovers,* by Daniel Gregory Mason; *Sociology and Social Problems,* by Howard W. Odum; *The Physical Sciences,* by E. E. Slosson; *Conflicts in American Public Opinion,* by William Allen White and Walter E. Myer; *Psychology,* by Everett Dean Martin; *Philosophy,* by Alexander Meiklejohn; *Our Children,* by M. V. O'Shea.

Later courses cover a wide range, including such subjects as: *Religion in Everyday Life,* by Wilfred T. Grenfell; *Appreciation of Sculpture,* by Lorado Taft; *The Young Child,* by Bird T. Baldwin; and *The Western March of American Settlement,* by Hamlin Garland. In response to demands from library patrons, a few courses on practical subjects will be issued in 1929. The publication of courses on general subjects will be continued.

The distribution of the courses has been largely through libraries, which buy them for reference and lending purposes, and which, in many cases, also offer them for sale at nominal prices. No effort has been made by the A.L.A. to sell to individuals by mail, and only a few bookstores have stocked them. They are used as buying lists, and as the basis for lectures, study club programs, newspaper publicity and exhibits, as well as for guides to reading. Many libraries buy all the

books listed in each course as soon as the list is known. One library buys fifty copies of the most popular books. For the convenience of such libraries all subscribers to the series are notified of the book selection in advance of publication. At the time of publication subscribers receive a one-page news-release which can be used as local publicity when the name of the library or librarian has been inserted.

Special shelves have been set aside in some libraries for the "Reading with a Purpose" courses, including both the booklets and the books recommended. In one library a star is placed on the back of every book listed in a "Reading with a Purpose" course. The star attracts the attention of the reader and when he asks what it means, he learns about the courses. It also helps the library assistant in selecting books for patrons. A small library in New England keeps the courses and the books they recommend on tables in the main room, each group by itself. "People sit there by the hour," writes the librarian. "Many borrow the books for home reading. Often not a book is left on the table on the best-liked topics. *Biology, Psychology, Conflicts in American Public Opinion, Frontiers of Knowledge* and *Our Children* have been most popular."

A library in a large city arranged for a series of lectures in the library on the subjects included in the courses, each lecture by a prominent local citizen or visitor. Occasionally it was the author of the reading course himself. From a small library in the South, the librarian writes that she has made addresses to the Young Women's Christian Association, the Parent-Teacher Association, nurses' clubs, and other groups, averaging about one speech every ten days, "using these courses everywhere, no matter what the subject under discussion." The library extension agencies of twenty-two states lend "Reading with a Purpose" courses, and the books recommended, to small libraries and to individuals who do not have access to local libraries.

All of this indicates that librarians, generally, think the courses are good. But they have not been universally approved. One distinguished librarian thinks they are not courses at all. "Vernon Kellogg's *Biology,*" he says, "was a real reading course, not a mere list, but later courses do not come up to this standard." He says the need is for courses which will give a mastery of a subject, so far as mastery can be obtained from reading. He apparently wants more guidance, more specific references to chapters, more reorganization of the subject and of materials in the booklet.

Others have criticized the price (eleven cents in large quantities) which prevents free distribution, and there have been many disagreements on subjects, authors, and books listed. The one criticism on which nearly all agree, including the editors and publishers, is that the courses are too difficult for many readers. Sometimes this is because the author does not know how to write simply or because the books are not well chosen. More often it is because authoritative books, which the general reader of limited education can understand, do not exist.

In many college libraries the reading courses are used in much the same ways as in public libraries. A librarian in a teachers' college reports their use in a course in directed reading. The student selects his subject, reads the books recommended and then writes an extensive report on the books. If the report is satisfactory the student receives two hours of college senior credit. The purpose of the course in directed reading is "to give the reader the beginnings of a cultural background." In another college several of the courses have served as the basis for the orientation work. Individual courses are often used as introductory reading for college classes. *Philosophy, French Literature, Psychology,* and *English Literature* are most frequently reported. In one college three courses,

Architecture, Painting, and *Sculpture,* are a part of the required reading of the class in elementary art appreciation. Many university extension departments recommend the courses and several give certificates for the completion of any one of them. They are often used in adult education classes and sometimes in high schools. One state school department offers special credit of forty points for the senior year of high school for the completion of one of the courses.

Numerous industrial companies have made the booklets available to their officers and employees. One company has purchased more than twelve thousand copies, after experimenting with a few hundred. Re-orders indicate a continuing interest.

They have been distributed by agricultural agents to farmers, by Y.M.C.A. secretaries to young business and working men, and they have helped women's clubs in the preparation of programs.

As this is an experiment in adult education it would be interesting to know whether any considerable number of persons *wish* to read "with a purpose"; to what extent people who read the booklets actually begin the courses of reading suggested; how many follow through; which form of presentation is most satisfactory; whether the courses give the needed guidance; to what extent the printed course can take the place of personal advice; and whether the result, when one does read the course, is education.

To most of these questions there is no conclusive answer. Libraries generally have used these courses without keeping detailed records. The traditions of the public library do not encourage too close a scrutiny of a reader's interests or of the results which follow his reading, and are rather against making public the individual records of readers.

Do people *wish* to read "with a purpose?" Apparently

many of them do. Those publishers flourish who, in their advertisements, promise success if you will read a few minutes a day. Reading circles and study clubs have persisted for a generation. Books on serious subjects sell by the tens or hundreds of thousands.

The Chicago Public Library was so overwhelmed with demands when it made its first announcement of a "readers' advisory service" to prepare courses for individual readers, that for weeks all further publicity was stopped. In the adult education department of the Milwaukee Public Library, 1,723 persons enrolled for serious reading courses in one year. The Boston Public Library sold thirteen thousand copies of the "Reading with a Purpose" courses in three years; and the Cleveland Public Library sold nearly forty-five hundred copies in one year.

But the most convincing evidence that there is a demand for reading guidance is that more than three thousand librarians, who are in a position to know what readers want, have purchased half a million copies of the "Reading with a Purpose" courses, and have spent many thousands of dollars for the books which these courses recommend.

How many of the hundreds of thousands of persons who have read the booklets have actually begun the courses of reading which they suggest cannot be known. Librarians from small places report a few, from large places, many. But for the most part figures are not available.

To what extent those who undertake the courses finish them is answered in part by figures from Milwaukee and Chicago. In one year 516 persons are known to have started the courses at the Milwaukee Public Library. One hundred twenty-four completed them; 335 were still reading the prescribed books at the end of the year; and 57 had discontinued.

A branch library in Chicago reports that in eighteen

months 609 persons enrolled for the courses. Two hundred fifty completed them; 210 were continuing at the end of the period; and 149 had dropped out. Three women and one man each completed three or more courses in one year.

In a little hill town of New England nine of the 270 inhabitants met regularly during one winter to discuss the books in Dallas Lore Sharp's course on *Some Great American Books*. All nine completed the course, including the postmistress, a young farmer and his wife and mother, the minister, the librarian, and three teachers. In a southern city, eleven high school graduates, who found it impossible to go to college, continued their education under the direction of the high school librarian by following "Reading with a Purpose" courses.

The courses differ somewhat as to method. *English Literature* is in two parts, an essay on the subject and a series of short essays on the books recommended. The author of *American Education* recommends his first book on the third page of text and has put lists of questions after the book notes. *Some Great American Books* is chatty, informal, and personal. *Conflicts in American Public Opinion* gives references to chapters of books and is more like a study course. In *The Young Child,* the six books of the course are followed by a longer list for supplementary reading. Which form of presentation is best suited to most readers and whether the courses as a whole give the needed guidance, have not been determined and perhaps cannot be determined except through special studies.

Are the courses an adequate substitute for personal advice? Occasional letters from persons who are actually following one of the courses indicate that they are. The general testimony of librarians, on the other hand, is to the effect that they often require adjustment to meet individual needs. They

are probably, at best, a poor substitute for the personal counsel of a specialist. That they are a great aid to a librarian who is not a specialist in the subject on which advice is sought, is not questioned.

Is the result education? This is not a question for librarians to answer. It may be noted in passing, however, that many schools and colleges are putting new emphasis on reading for an education; that reading is the basis for most education; and that many very well educated persons testify that they have gained as much from reading as from formal instruction.

The "Reading with a Purpose" series is still an experiment, but there is cumulative evidence that the printed reading course can be an important aid in the guidance of serious readers who are attempting to continue their education.

SOCIAL SERVICE OF THE PUBLIC LIBRARY

BY SAMUEL H. RANCK

INSTITUTIONS established and maintained by a community have their reason for being in the fact that they are believed to be of advantage to the people. No well-balanced community would establish or maintain an institution if it really believed it would be to its disadvantage. In a broad sense, therefore, all work that is for the lasting benefit or advantage of the people might justly be classified as social service work, and in this sense everything a public library does might be interpreted as real or imaginary social service, "social" referring to human relations, and "service" to those activities which promote human betterment. By "public library" I have in mind an institution supported by public funds and whose management is subject to, or directly under, public control.

"Social service" is relatively a new term. It is not yet of voting age, so far as its general use is concerned. It is not defined in any of our standard dictionaries, except in the list of new words in the 1927 edition of *Webster's New International Dictionary,* and in this case inadequately, since it identifies it chiefly with the old idea of organized charity. It is variously defined by social workers, who, by the way, think of it in terms of "social work." For example, Dr. Edward T. Devine, the well-known author and lecturer and former editor of *The Survey,* defines "social work" as "embracing all those efforts which are consciously and deliberately undertaken in any community for the improvement of living and working conditions."

With Dr. A. J. Todd, professor of Sociology at Northwestern University and author of *The Scientific Spirit and*

Social Work, "social work ought to stand for organizing scientifically the forces, personal and material, of a community in such a way as to eliminate waste and friction, and to raise progressively the capacity of every member for productivity, service, and joy in life."

According to Mr. Charles C. Stillman, in his volume on *Social Work Publicity,* "social work is organized effort, under private or public auspices, to discover the resources and potentialities of human beings, to reach the normal, to live in right relationships, to make the best possible adjustments for others, to shape and reshape society in all its manifestations through laws, customs, and institutions, so as best to promote the general welfare. Its underlying spirit is service. Its method is more and more becoming scientific. Its consuming passion is social progress, that more or less vague concept so easy to talk about and so hard to indicate."

In this paper I propose to limit a detailed discussion of this somewhat elusive term "social service" to those activities of a public library which directly promote community health and happiness through the diffusion of knowledge, outside of the fields of recreation and the generally recognized educational functions of a library—all of which may be, and ought to be, direct and vital factors in community social service. For example, when the library, through the knowledge in the printed matter it contains, enables a person to make himself more efficient in his daily work, thereby increasing the earning power of both himself and the community, it has performed a genuine social service.

Again, when Henry Ford found in a British periodical, on file in the reading room of the Detroit Public Library, the idea of the internal combustion engine which he was able to use as the source of power for the "horseless carriage" on which he was at work, that library performed a service that is helping to revolutionize our whole social life.

The chief business or function of a public library, as I always like to think of it, is the dissemination of ideas—ideas which make new worlds and new lives from old and frequently put joy and sunshine into our daily living. In this work, books—print—play the most important part, for books contain the greatest ideas (new and old) that man in all his long career on earth has thought. And ideas are the moving forces of the human world. They are the agents that function as a social chemistry which transforms men and nations. The circulation of printed matter lacking in ideas is a wholly useless function (except occasionally as a soporific)—if it is not positively harmful; and the more such books a library circulates the greater is its futility—the greater its disservice. And here, one may pause to remark that it would be a useful service to write an article on the disservice of public libraries to their communities. All of this, however, to one side.

Nevertheless, a library may and should disseminate ideas in other ways than through print, but in such a manner as to promote the use of books and print—its primary function. Some of these ways are lectures, both illustrated and non-illustrated; exhibitions of all sorts (prints, pictures, maps, materials, etc.); moving pictures, the phonograph, radio, lantern slides; and publications of its own in fields where there is nothing available. These extra functions of the library, outside of its normal field, correspond in a certain way to the extra-curricular, or so-called campus, activities of students at a college or university. All these are immensely valuable in the education of the student when judiciously used and not abused. In like manner the library that uses these "extra-curricular" activities must use them judiciously and correlate them with its main great work, the extensive use of worth-while printed matter. And "worth while" must be interpreted in no narrow-minded or partisan spirit. We must

recognize that there are different points of view, for the essential spirit of the library is freedom.

All libraries perform activities of a more or less direct social-service nature. In this group may be included: All phases of hospital library work, especially as it relates to the service to patients; the sending of collections of books—usually traveling library boxes—to the homes of sick and crippled children or shut-ins, old and young, of all sorts and conditions, and following the books with visits from a librarian for the purpose of understanding better the particular needs of each individual thus served; endeavoring to get all mothers whose names appear in the official records of birth when a new baby comes into the home into contact with the library's book service on the care of children; the instruction of the adult blind in the ability to read embossed print, as is done by the home teaching societies working through public libraries, especially in Pennsylvania and Ohio; work with the foreign born in helping them to adjust themselves to our American life; all the library's regular work with children, which frequently shows a direct and marked effect in reducing juvenile delinquency.

These and other similar activities are quite common in many of our public libraries and all have their place and should be a part of the regular work of every well-organized public library, in every community where there is a reasonable degree of need for such service.

As a general proposition I am convinced that every library should endeavor to function up to every new opportunity for service reasonably within its field. It is usually better for the library and better for society that the library as an existing institution should be financed to meet these new needs rather than that they should be neglected or that society should be obliged to create and support a new organization or institu-

tion to meet such needs. There is an immense amount of social and economic waste due to the fact that existing organizations have failed to adjust themselves to meet changing social needs. Such institutions have simply failed to function up.

One of the fundamental conditions of a community's well-being is the health of its people. Should the public library concern itself with a work that is primarily the business of the city's department of health? Yes and no. No, if it relates in any way to the handling of disease; yes, in the dissemination of knowledge that will save life and make the community a more healthful and joyous place in which to live and work. The organization of the library is such that it is in a position to promote the wide diffusion of knowledge to all classes in the community better than any other municipal institution. It should, therefore, be a positive, aggressively dynamic force to make in definite, concrete ways the knowledge within its keeping count for individual and community betterment.

The people of any community are its greatest economic asset—worth in dollars and cents several times more than all its material property. Everything that conserves this human asset and helps to make it more effective and valuable is of direct economic value, not only to the community, but to the whole nation and to the world. Schools and libraries are two of the most important community institutions for promoting the value of this great human asset. For the sake of the people and for its own sake the library should do everything possible to conserve and develop this great economic value, disregarding for the time being the even greater and vastly more important human and spiritual values.

This economic value of the people is a very real one, even

though most of us never think of the vastness of this human wealth in terms of dollars and cents. Some of our great life insurance companies have definite data on this subject. They have scores of thousands of cases in their records on which to base their conclusions. All the knowledge gained in this way leads in only one direction, namely, to the tremendous economic value of human beings in the mass and the vast possibilities of increasing this value through education and the application of knowledge to all the problems of the individual and of society.

Here are the conclusions of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company on the economic value of the people of the United States, as based on the studies made by their technical staff. The material wealth of the United States in 1922 was $321,000,000,000—an inconceivable sum. The economic value of the people of the United States that year was five times as great—more than fifteen hundred billions of dollars—over one trillion, five hundred billion of dollars. Apply this valuation to your own city or town—presumably an average community in material wealth and in human wealth. In a Michigan city of ten thousand population and an assessed valuation of $8,000,000 as its material wealth, the Metropolitan conclusions show for that city a human value of between forty and fifty millions of dollars. And yet in all our discussions of taxation we are in the habit of giving vastly more consideration to material wealth than to human wealth. Studies such as those of the Metropolitan indicate the tremendous importance of schools and libraries in developing the economic value of our people, for it has been demonstrated many, many times that the average properly educated person is of much greater economic value to the community as well as to himself than an uneducated one. However, a knowledge of this tremendous value—the greatest natural resource of

every community as well as of the country as a whole—is rarely realized by the general public. It is the business of every public library to disseminate such knowledge among its people—both for the sake of the people themselves and for the sake of the library as a human service institution. The mere having on its shelves the printed matter containing all this knowledge will not vitally affect the community—it may be a wholly negligible factor in community life; but getting these ideas into the minds and hearts of the people so that they result in action is a real social service.

Perhaps a few concrete citations from the work of the library I have the honor to serve may be pardoned, since they illustrate exactly what I have been trying to say in the foregoing, as it relates to making certain ideas effectively vital in the community. The Ryerson Library building of the Grand Rapids Public Library was opened in 1904. It has a lecture room capable of seating three hundred persons; and a library lecture room may be made the most vital part of the library's equipment in transforming ideas—thoughts—into things. The question immediately upon those responsible for the administration of the library was the what-and-how use to be made of such a new room. The librarian, who had recently come from Baltimore, told of the great interest aroused in an exhibition and a series of lectures on the prevention, care, and cure of tuberculosis, put on at the Johns Hopkins University by the late Dr. William Osler, through the Laennec Society which he had just founded. The librarian was told that Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, then dean of the Medical School of the University of Michigan, would be a good man to obtain for a lecture on tuberculosis. He was obtained.

In connection with the lecture the library wished to promote the reading of books relating to this subject (something it does for every lecture given by or in the library as well as

many outside), and finding very few books available on its shelves wrote to Dr. Livingston Farrand (then executive secretary of the recently organized National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis and now president of Cornell University), for suggestions for books on tuberculosis suitable for a public library. Dr. Farrand suggested a number of works which the library purchased and featured in connection with Dr. Vaughan's lecture. In addition Dr. Farrand strongly urged that the occasion of the lecture be used to organize an anti-tuberculosis society—to be the first in Michigan. The library took this phase of the matter up with Mr. Charles S. Burch (then managing editor of the *Grand Rapids Press* and afterward Bishop Burch of New York), who immediately fell in with the idea and got behind it with his newspaper.

Dr. Vaughan's lecture was given at the library March 3, 1905, and a local society was organized at the meeting. A few months later there was put on at the library under the auspices of the Society a large exhibition with many lectures, both during the day and evening, on tuberculosis, stressing the importance of its early discovery to be followed by strong hopes of early recovery. Over one hundred thousand pieces of printed matter were distributed in connection with this exhibition and the lectures in the library. What happened as the result of all this? The city through an informed public opinion bought a forty-acre farm on the edge of the city to be the location of its tuberculosis sanatorium and other municipal hospitals. About three-quarters of a million dollars has been put into buildings on that tract by the city, the death rate from tuberculosis has been cut to one-fourth of what it then was, and altogether Grand Rapids now has one of the lowest, if not the lowest, death rates of any industrial city in the country of one hundred thousand population or

over. This educational health movement has been felt in every direction, being continued all these years through public and private organizations. For example, in 1928 there was not a single death in the city from diphtheria, and the infant mortality rate is one of the lowest in the country for cities of its size. The Anti-Tuberculosis Society still carries on, even though nearly all the work it fostered has been taken over by the municipality, and is now paid for by taxation. Its present work is largely educational and extends over the whole county. The economic value of the human lives saved every year through this social-service work inaugurated by the library is many times the annual cost of the library to the taxpayers of the city.

May crime and its punishment be the means of promoting social service in libraries? We do not usually associate crime with education and social service in this way. And yet such is the case in Michigan, unique among the states of the Union in the fact that from the first constitution of the state, adopted in 1835, down to the present there has always been a constitutional provision whereby the proceeds from all penal fines collected for the violation of state laws are set aside for library use, the amount of these fines in recent years being more than half a million dollars per annum.

The penal fines collected in each county remain in the county and are distributed annually to the school-district libraries in the county according to the number of children of school age. The largest amount of penal fines for libraries, in Kent County, the county of Grand Rapids, up to the time of the incident here referred to, was when a number of city officials and others were fined and some sent to prison in connection with a water-supply scandal, involving bribery in a conspiracy to tie up the city in a contract with a private concern to bring water from Lake Michigan, a distance of about

thirty miles. The Grand Rapids Public Library received its share of these fines and the library immediately invested several hundred dollars in books on every phase of water-supply purification and engineering, with the hope that they might contribute something to the city's unsolved pure water-supply problem. A number of such books were purchased on the recommendation of a young engineer who had recently come to the city and was much interested in the whole subject.

In the meantime at the suggestion of the library the city council passed a resolution making the library the medium of exchange with other cities and with state libraries, etc., of all municipal publications. As a result of this action the library soon built up a considerable collection of municipal documents from about two hundred American and Canadian cities—consisting chiefly of charters, ordinances, annual and special reports of all kinds, etc.

The various water-deal cases and the fines imposed and collected from a considerable number of individuals did not settle the question of a pure water supply for the city—a question that was becoming more acute every year. Before Grand Rapids became a city, which was in 1850, the state legislature granted a special charter to a private company to supply the city with water—getting most of it from springs along the river above the city. This company did not keep up with the growth of the city, so that it became necessary for the city to instal a water-works system of its own, taking the water for that purpose from the Grand River, which flows through the city. As a result a large part of the citizens depended on wells for much of their drinking water, because they would not drink the unfiltered river water. The typhoid-fever rate was very high—several hundred cases a year—with a correspondingly high death rate. The situation was drama-

tized to the whole city when one of the most prominent business men, whose product and company was nationally known, died after a long fight against typhoid.

The city government and the business interests of the city finally secured the appointment of a special commission of high-grade business and professional men to study the whole situation and to report a plan to be submitted to a vote of the citizens. After long and careful study they recommended the adoption of the plan to take the water from the river and to filter it by the rapid sand or mechanical filtration process. Various business groups and other organizations after studying the plan all endorsed the report of the special commission and recommended that the citizens support it with their votes. No opposition to this plan appeared and nearly every one believed that the plan would go over practically unanimously. Eight or ten days before the election full or half page newspaper broadsides were distributed to every house in the city claiming that filtration was a failure, by publishing facsimile reproductions from newspapers and technical magazines, etc., of items with reference to typhoid fever in certain cities, and then followed by the statement that said cities had filtered water. In short the whole purpose of these broadsides was to discredit the report of the special commission in order to have it defeated. New broadsides appeared about every other day and were always distributed to every house in the city. They came out over the name of the young engineer at whose suggestion the library had purchased many books on water-supply engineering. The immediate effect on the supporters of the plan was akin to that of Braddock's army when it was ambushed near Pittsburgh in the French and Indian War.

What should a public library do in such a situation? Should it remain silent or should it make vital the knowledge on its

shelves? The library immediately checked up a number of the references to other cities in the annual reports and municipal documents in its collection—the latter secured through the resolution making it the medium of exchange with other cities, as already mentioned. For a week the librarian and certain members of the staff did little else but check up on the trail of the young engineer's published broadsides and make the knowledge it found available to the newspapers, with the librarian signing the published statements of the facts the library found. Here is a sample of what we found. Reading, Pennsylvania, and Albany, New York, both had filtered water supplies serving parts of those cities and also unfiltered supplies serving other parts. The typhoid epidemics were in the sections of those cities served by the unfiltered supplies. The broadside advertisements were correct in stating that Reading and Albany both had typhoid epidemics and both had filtered water, but, nevertheless, these statements were both damnable lies in the impression they conveyed. Other agencies besides the library got into the fight before the election, but it was generally recognized that the library was the first to jump into the fray, and rally the forces to save the day for pure water. Pure water won at the polls and Grand Rapids, except for sporadic cases brought in from outside, has as a result eliminated typhoid fever from the city, now with a population nearly double that at the time this fight was made. The annual saving of life and suffering from this one cause alone is more in dollars and cents than the annual cost to the taxpayers of its public library. I have always believed that the library would have been derelict in its duty had it failed to give to the public the knowledge it had on such a vital matter, and I have always regarded it as the most satisfactory piece of library social service in which we have ever had a part.

As for the young engineer, who most of us believe had been planted here for that particular job, he faded away immediately after the election.

Psychologists tell us that no one uses to anything like his capacity the brains he has. The same is true of communities. There is no great difference in the normal mental capacity—the brain power—of communities. The difference in communities is largely due to the extent to which they have used their brains in developing their intelligence, plus those moral qualities which give force and staying power to all their efforts. Librarians and educators generally in all their work are inclined to overstress knowledge and to understress the moral force of individual character as the dominant factor in human progress. Real knowledge directed by intelligence and character make an invincible combination. The future belongs to those who can best use it. Much of the knowledge of the world is in the keeping of our libraries. Have we as librarians the intelligence and character to make that knowledge more and more effective in the affairs of the world? That is the challenge of the librarianship of the new age.

The public library of the future will, I believe, direct its activities more and more toward making the knowledge within its keeping an active and positive force for social service, both for the individual and for the community, to the end that human lives may be lived more abundantly.

INSPIRED LIBRARIES

BY ERNEST C. RICHARDSON

MOST of the great religions have their great religious books; most of these books are libraries, and most of the libraries are alleged to be inspired. The Hebrew Bible, the Christian Bible, the Koran, the Vedas, the Avesta, the Tripitaka, the Confucian books, the Edda and the Egyptian Book of the Dead are not only books but libraries. They are all collections of books, written at various times, most of them by various writers, and at some later time gathered together into libraries.

These collections are often called Bibles (Biblia) or libraries. Throughout the middle ages the Christian Bible was called the Sacred Library (bibliotheca). The Buddhist Tripitaka or three "Baskets of books" is a triple library. Whatever the name, however, each of these books is in fact a select collection of the best books of its respective civilization and religion.

This by no means exhausts the list of sacred libraries, still less the list of sacred and inspired books. There are vast multitudes of other writings of this kind; oracles, astrological records, spirit communications through mediums, books by possessed or inspired writers outside the canonical scriptures of the various religions, apocryphal and pseudepigraphical writings of all sorts, Bibles of minor religions or sects of the great religions, like the Tibetan, Bardo Thödol, the Adi Granth, the Jain Bible, the three books of Shinto, the Taoist scriptures, the book of Mormon, Science and Health, and many others. Many of these find a place in the lists of the sacred books of the great religions and some of them, being both libraries and claiming inspiration, may be counted among inspired libraries.

With these lesser libraries belong also the innumerable temple book chests of oracles in ancient temples everywhere —Babylonian, Greek, Egyptian, perhaps also the chests of oracles which the itinerant hawkers carried around among the cities and villages of ancient Greece, although these belong rather to the history of bookselling than of libraries.

The Orphic collections, of which various records and some fragments have come to us, are a lofty type.

Another class includes three groups. First are those which assume that all writings are inspired, "Milton, as much as Isaiah." Second are the astrological records which claim that the stars are the very handwriting of the gods. Finally, the most comprehensive library of all is what Mr. Thomas Paine calls the "Bible of the Deist." Religion, according to Mr. Paine,[1] consists "in contemplating the power, wisdom and benignity of the Deity in his works." "The Creation," he says, "is the Bible of the Deist. He there reads in the handwriting of the Creator himself, the certainty of his existence and the immutability of his power, and all other Bibles and Testaments are to him forgeries."[2]

This is a familiar idea not wholly figurative; "the heavens declare the glory of God," "there be sermons in stones, books in the running brooks," "If I could but know thee little flower . . . I should know what God and man is."

If, of course, creation or the real universe is in fact the handwriting of the Creator, then all books and libraries and human minds, being themselves a part of this real universe are inspired revelations of the unseen Creator equally with all apes and flowers, stones and molecules. The Deist's library contains all the rest.

And in particular, if books and libraries are as truly the "handwriting of the Creator" as apes and flowers, the nine books which are the sum and climax of a long evolution of

1. *Works*, 1925, Vol. 8, p. 73. 2. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

books, are in some special sense a special inspiration or revelation created or composed by the Creator in a succession of operations, all of them the "handwriting of the Creator."

The object of this paper is to point out to research students in the book sciences the fact that these nine greatest books of human history, which are at the same time libraries, and alleged to be "specially" inspired, together with their background of lesser collections and individual works regarded as of superhuman authorship, form a body of source material which is not only material for the problem of superhuman authorship, but forms the best group of material in existence for the general study of the early evolution of books, and especially the evolution of libraries.

The limits of this paper permit only the briefest reference to the most direct problems, that is, the problem of superhuman authorship or inspiration, and the problem of superhuman libraries or inspiration by natural selection. Each of these problems yields, however, one or two observations which may be regarded as a contribution toward the methods of study or to the laws of bibliographical research, or may serve as theses, which if developed at greater length should produce such contributions.

To begin with, these books are by far the most-read books of human history. They have been read because they are interesting and they have survived because they have been most read.

The significant thing about the millions of books written about these inspired libraries is that although these are the peculiar material of book science and library science, and very many of them deal with problems of bibliology, such as authorship, canon, textual and higher criticism, etc., very few of them handle their material from a book standpoint. They are written from the point of view of philosophy, historical

criticism, philology, theology, comparative religion, or anything else rather than from the standpoint of bibliology.

The problems are, however, in fact, problems of bibliology. They belong strictly to the book sciences. Inspiration is the problem of superhuman authorship. Canon is the problem of book selection, and collection. Textual and historical criticism are problems of book transmission. The composition of the Avesta and Vedas, the Pentateuch, the Gospels, the Shu King and the Shi King are problems of documentary criticism. The evolution of book collections has its own science in bibliothecology. All of these are strictly book problems and can be solved only through the understanding and application of the bibliographical laws of which the critics often seem hardly to be aware. When studied from the point of view of book science, many of these matters take on an entirely new aspect.

On the two direct problems involved in "inspired libraries," there is a vast literature existing under the names of inspiration and canon.

Inspiration is a word which has many shades of meaning and has been endlessly discussed from the point of view of religion. It adds something simply to translate this into the terms of the science to which it belongs and to call it superhuman authorship.

The problem of inspiration or superhuman authorship, as commonly discussed is a not very clearly analyzed matter involving first, superhuman composition, and second, superhuman transmission. Transmission includes superhuman communication to man, superhuman distribution among men, and superhuman collection.

The problem of superhuman authorship includes books which are alleged to be preëxistent, or self-existent from eternity, books composed by the supreme God, by a co-equal

god or by some lesser god, books by angels or spirits, good or bad, and writings by departed souls, etc.

The Vedas and the Koran were, it is said, self-existing; the Vedas before the Creator created himself, and the Koran from eternity with the uncreated eternal God.

The Edda was apparently composed by Odin, the Book of the Dead by Thoth, God of writing, the Avesta by Ahura, the Manu by Brahma, and the Hebrew and the Christian Bibles by the Most High God.

The oldest Chinese classics were gathered and edited by Confucius who has been recognized as god since the year one and since 1907 recognized as equal with the Creator.

Revelation or the communication of these books to men may be direct by the author to mankind or by some agent; Allah, the angel Gabriel, or some specially inspired man.

Allah published or communicated a preëxistent Koran first to Gabriel, and then through Gabriel to Mohammed. Here the stages are five, the preëxistent Koran, its communication to Allah, by Allah to Gabriel, by Gabriel to Mohammed, and by Mohammed to man.

The usual conception of revelation is the communication of a work directly by a superhuman author to a prophet.

The methods of communication are various. Sometimes it is supposed to be by the external handwriting of God. The Creator himself writes with his own finger on tables of stone, on Belshazzar's palace wall, or on a papyrus roll.

The Babylonians had the idea that the stars are the handwriting of God. Mr. Paine considered all nature as the handwriting of God.

Still more often, communication by the supreme God is by the external voice of God; it may be out of a burning bush, or from the tops of mountains, or out of the heavens, or in friendly conversation walking in a garden. Mohammedanism

holds that the Koran was delivered by voice and that all true revelation must be by voice.

The Vedas were uttered by Brahma himself from his four mouths—a Veda from each mouth.

The earliest record of superhuman authorship in China was "spoken." "God said unto King Wăn."

Again, communication may be by inward voice or handwriting or vision, to a chosen prophet, a notion made real by modern psychology of inward words.

The idea of vision which must be translated by the prophet into his own words forms a ready transition to the idea of a revelation which is simply intensification of a man's ordinary process of thought, imaging and verbal expression.

In some of its forms this inspiration becomes an ecstasy, a frenzy, or a possession.

In its soberest form this inspiration is the simple impartation of spiritual energy or grace more or less as the case may be. In this type the prophet differs from the average man only in the amount of the spiritual energy at his command. Shakespeare is as much inspired as Isaiah, but he is not inspired as much.

This notion of inspiration is alleged by the historians of religion to be the oldest and commonest of religious ideas, preceding even Animism. It has many aspects and modes of operation, but at bottom the idea is the same in the most primitive savage and the most highly matured systems of Christianity. It is the special communication of energy or ability out of the reservoirs of the universe. Whether this is called manna or grace, whether much or little, general or special, intellectual or material, it is a reinforcement of human ability by the communication of real energy from without, which makes him wiser, stronger, or better. All religions hold that grace or manna is real energy and may be increased indefinitely by using suitable "means of grace."

The ways of imaging this inspiration differ greatly among different religions. In the Edda it is Suttung's mead on which the gods sustain their life and on whose scanty spillings human poets live. Again, it is water from three fountains which nourish the roots of the tree of knowledge and of life.

Many other religions express their idea in a similar way. The water of life is common to most religions.

A matter of curious interest to the research student of books is the fact that almost universally the attainment of this mystic power is equivalent to the attainment of knowledge.

Perhaps most significant of all for research in the book sciences is the fact that in all the most developed religions, and in practically all these nine books this energy or spirit, grace, manna, soma, or however designated, is explained to be simple "words." "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit."

All the great religions in their highest form explain spiritual power as knowledge communicated by words. Spiritual action is verbal.

Whatever the nature of inspiration, it is assumed that it makes the writings inerrant. Most religions carry this idea, not only to the books as a whole, but to every part of the book, large or small. Many Christians insist that every word of their Bible is inspired, Mohammedans that every syllable of the Koran is inspired, and many Jews follow the logic of the idea and hold that every letter and even every vowel point, although these were not introduced into their writings for a thousand years after the canon was closed, are likewise and equally inspired. The inspiration of the vowel points has become a byword of utter inspiration.

Finally, it must be observed that the problem of inspiration is carried on even into the idea of superhuman authorship

of the collections. These collections are nearly all regarded as inspired or of superhuman authorship, not only as to their individual books, but as a whole. The collecting itself is superhuman, inerrant, final. The collector is inspired. This doctrine of inspired book collecting or inspired selection of books is the doctrine of an inspired canon or superhuman authorship of the collection.

All seven of the books of the still living religions have such an official body of scriptures, definite and final. They are counted by some as the only inspired writings of the religion and by others as specially inspired in a way to give unique authority. Each religion as a rule counts its book as unique inspiration.

All of these select book collections are the survivals of much larger bodies of superhuman books. In the case of the Chinese canon (Kings) it is said that Confucius gathered up the older writings in various states and thoroughly weeded these of duplicatory and undesirable matter. In the Book of Poetry, 3,000 poems were reduced to 305. It was Zeid the amanuensis of Mohammed who gathered together the many individual revelations written by the two- or three-score amanuenses of Mohammed, many years after the death of the prophet. Of Zeid, it is said, "He sought out the Suras and fragments from every quarter and gathered them together from date leaves and tablets of white stone and from the breasts of men."

The non-canonical literature of India (Smriti) too, is vastly greater than the specially inspired Vedic canon (Sruti). The canon of the Christian Bible again is the survival of a vast Semitic and a vast Hellenistic literature and it has only lately rid itself of the Greek Old Testament Apocrypha, and confined its canon to the Hebrew and the New Testament scriptures.

The factors which tended to survival of these books were of course, then as now, environment, financial value, durability, etc., and above all, interest.

When all has been said, the factor which tends most to the survival of books is that which tends to induce the multiplication of a book in the largest numbers, its replacing when worn out, and the use of the strongest material to resist wear. This factor is interest. On the face of it and for the individual book, interest, through wear, tends to destruction in direct ratio to interest and in inverse ratio to durability of material, but the book, considered as a work or form of words, tends to survival in direct proportion to its interest, which induces multiplication and replacement. These books are the most interesting books in the world. Therefore they have survived, and have evolved by successive stages into their present complex forms.

Each one is made up by continuous collecting over long periods and the successive incorporation, not only of individual books, but of whole libraries or collections of books. The Rig Veda, the Pentateuch, Psalms and Isaiah, and the early parts of the Avesta are all collections within collections. The Shu King was a complete library of eighty-one works in one hundred volumes, formed before Confucius and incorporated as a whole. Its catalogue is still extant. So too, perhaps the Shi King, a Book of Poetry, with 305 odes, classified then as now and containing several collections—all libraries within a library, which was itself a library.

And if these complex collections of books are each an evolution, it belongs to the idea that we should look to a still further evolution of these libraries by struggle and survival or by collection, into a new canon of existing collections. If the future evolution of libraries is to follow the line of progress and survival, the natural law of evolution points to the

most complex and tightly organized among present collections as likely to dominate. If it is to take the line of collection, the nine books mentioned form already a natural selection which if history is to be repeated, will gradually be formed into a canon by long-continued and painstaking criticism and processes of accepting and rejecting, with many questions of including lesser libraries. If this syncretism of inspired libraries should proceed in fact, it would be necessarily on the basis of the discovery of commonplaces or elements of like-mindedness.

At this point, a single observation may be offered in briefest terms which is capable of analysis into a score of theses, and which whatever may be its scientific value or usefulness will stand as an observation of fact.

The ideas of these nine books as to the nature of God and of the universe, the nature of man, the nature of the relationships between God and man, and the chief objective of the Almighty, of the individual, and of society are all expressed in all these books in terms of the book sciences, word, knowledge, truth, wisdom, self-expression, and when so expressed are one. All these books agree as to these essentials when stated in these terms. The language of the book sciences is, in short, the *lingua franca* of religion.

Only such bibliographical references have been given as may not be found readily in the index volume to the "Sacred Books of the East," the index to Hastings' *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics,* Muir's *Sanskrit Texts,* and Muir's *Life of Mohammed,* or the author's books on the history of libraries and his articles on books, libraries, alphabet, writing, etc., in the *Standard Bible Encyclopedia.*

THE BOSTON YEARS OF DR. W. F. POOLE

BY CARL B. RODEN

THE professional reputation of Dr. William Frederick Poole rests upon a double foundation with a span of twenty years between its two members. While still at Yale, and student-librarian of one of its literary societies, he undertook the compilation of an index to the periodical literature in the society library, primarily as an aid in the preparation of undergraduate debates and literary exercises which flourished in that era of formal oratory and disputation. The wider usefulness of this work was quickly recognized, both by the compiler and the literary public, and, through the generous interest of George Palmer Putnam, then a young man upon the threshold of his notable publishing career, the *Index* became one of the earliest imprints of his now famous house. For the publisher, as he had doubtless foreseen, the venture was not a profitable one, but to the compiler it brought the grateful recognition of students on both sides of the Atlantic, and the permanent association of his name with one of the most useful of American bibliographical enterprises.

Twenty years later, Poole entered upon his activities in the Middle West, which, beginning in Cincinnati and continuing for a score of years in Chicago, established his enduring fame as an organizer and administrator of American public libraries. During the intervening two decades he lived and worked continuously in Boston, whither he turned, soon after graduation, to avail himself of its large periodical collections in the preparation of a greatly enlarged edition of the *Index,* already begun before he had left Yale. "The first edition," he told the A.L.A. in 1876, "was commenced and

completed under a youthful impulse to do something that ought to be done, and without the idea of remuneration. The second edition was carried through under the same impulse, but with the idea that the publication would, partially at least, repay the labor spent upon it." But these modest hopes proved vain. Two years elapsed before another well-disposed publisher was found, and the commercial collapse of the latter, soon after, finally disposed of Poole's original aspirations, which seem vaguely to have comprehended a literary career with the *Index* as an important income-producing side line. His first library employment since his college days—a temporary position of eleven months as assistant in the Boston Athenaeum—was accepted with little thought of committing himself to this field for life. Before that connection was terminated, however, the combination of his circumstances with the strong attractions that the duties held for a man of Poole's experience and inclinations led him to the definite decision, not only to become a librarian, but to become the first librarian of the new Boston Public Library. For aid in accomplishing this laudable ambition he appealed, first of all, in a letter dated February 28, 1852, to his good friend and well-wisher, Edward C. Herrick, the accomplished librarian of Yale College.

> You are doubtless aware [he writes] that some four years since Hon. Edward Everett presented a valuable collection of books to the City of Boston as the basis of a Free Public Library. Other donations have since been made, and now the Mayor recommends the appointment of a librarian and the procuring of a suitable building for the immediate organization of the Library. Now, a simple statement of the case is that I should like the situation of Librarian in the said Library—provided it is to be established on as extensive and liberal a scale as its most ardent advocates anticipate.

Continuing, he declares that he has a "large number of influential friends in the city" who would advocate his claims, but that he proposes merely to file a simple application with

only such endorsement as might legitimately come from one who had known him in his earlier library activities. And he ends with the suggestion that Herrick write his letter in general terms "to all whom it may concern, as I am not fully decided to make an application to the City Government for the Public Library." One of the Boston friends to whom he confided his hopes was George S. Hillard, a lawyer, orator, and a man of wealth and social eminence, who, it appears, diplomatically sought to direct the young man's lofty aspirations to a less unattainable goal by suggesting that he would be better fitted for a position in the Astor Library of New York, and who brought about a meeting with Joseph Green Cogswell, the well-known head of that institution. But neither his influential friends nor the recommendations of Herrick were successful, and Poole's first independent command was as librarian of the Boston Mercantile Library Association, a flourishing institution, the oldest of its type in America, maintaining a popular lending library of fifteen thousand volumes and a profitable lecture course, but soon to feel the competition (eloquently deplored in its annual reports) of the new free city library. Poole began his duties early in the year 1852;—"Mr. Poole," according to the trustees, "was formerly a librarian at Yale College, and more recently assistant librarian at the Athenaeum in this city. He has been thoroughly educated in his profession and brings to the discharge of his duties a complete acquaintance with all the practical details in the management of a public library." Our modern standards of education for librarianship might have led to a less generous appraisal of the new incumbent's professional equipment than these optimistic words convey. They were, however, to be completely justified by the success of his four years' administration. Within his first twelvemonth the number of subscribers was practically doubled and the circulation of books increased by more than 20 per

cent. Admission to the library, hitherto restricted to afternoons and evenings, was extended to begin at the incredible hour of 7.00 A.M., "affording business men and clerks an opportunity of reading the papers and exchanging their books before going to their business," and continuing to 10.00 P.M. Within the year, likewise, the library outgrew its quarters and a new location was secured. The new catalogue, printed in 1853, remains one of the milestones in library history as the exemplar of the now familiar dictionary plan, with short, "title-a-line" entries, an innovation in its day, evolved by Poole out of his experience with the *Index*. It was a period of progress and activity, which the trustees record with evident satisfaction, not unmixed with occasional misgivings at the pace their librarian is leading them.

When the venerable Charles Folsom, "the literary mentor of so many distinguished Bostonians," retired from the librarianship of the Boston Athenaeum in 1856, he was succeeded by William F. Poole, now thirty-five years old and by common consent the fit and logical man for the place. His four years at the Mercantile Library had demonstrated and developed his administrative abilities; his enthusiasm and progressive spirit had won him many friends. And his bibliographical knowledge, a by-product of the drudgery on the *Index,* he found, as he wrote to Herrick, "very valuable"—

> fully enough—as I shall pursue bibliography as a profession—to repay all my labor upon it. I have got no little reputation in Boston for being supposed to know where all sorts of subjects are treated. My MSS., however, which I keep in the background, are of no little service in strengthening my supposed memory.

In 1853 Poole had signed the call for the first American conference of librarians which met in New York and in which he took an active part. It was on this occasion that Charles C. Jewett, librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, then aspiring to become the national library, submitted his scheme for

the duplication of catalogue entries by means of stereotype plates made of clay and shellac. This faint adumbration of the Library of Congress card was received by the conference with the respect due to its author, but soon proved a failure because of the shrinkage and warping of the strange material. Poole's sharp criticisms of the scheme, and his characterization of it as the "mud catalogue," were long remembered. Jewett soon afterward resigned, discouraged by the obstacles encountered in his plans for the Smithsonian library, and, in 1855, was appointed superintendent of the Boston Public Library. The two men thus became neighbors and presumably, friends.

If Poole was the right man for the Athenaeum in 1856, so also was the Athenaeum the right place for him. Here he was thoroughly at home. His previous employment gave him familiarity with the affairs of the institution and his scholarly tastes and his love and knowledge of books grew and expanded by what they fed on in its splendid collections. There was plenty of opportunity for the exercise of his administrative gifts in the reorganization of methods and routine. And, not least, his attractive personality and social qualities came into full play in his contacts with the distinguished company, the flower of Brahmin Boston, that foregathered in the Athenaeum. Among his daily visitors, during these dozen years, were numbered Edward Everett, Emerson, Holmes, Lowell, Motley, Parkman, and many more. George Ticknor, Charles Francis Adams, and, later, Charles Eliot Norton, Edwin P. Whipple, Phillips Brooks, Charles Sumner, Louis Agassiz, and a young teacher named Charles William Eliot, became his intimate friends. The alcove that formed his office was lined with the private library of George Washington, and near by at a long table Richard Hildreth wrote his *History*. The younger *Atlantic* group, including Henry James, Howells, and T. B. Aldrich sought his aid.

Longfellow consulted him while writing his witchcraft tragedies. His own literary passions, long suppressed, came to the surface, and he began to issue the series of studies in New England history upon which his avocational reputation is based. His militant championship of the New England clergy against the imputation of complicity in the witchcraft persecutions brought him to the notice of Lowell, then editor of the *North American Review,* who wrote: "I know very well that you have not said all you know about witchcraft, and I want you to write an article for the *North American,*" an invitation that resulted in a sixty-page contribution, afterward printed in book form.

His library duties, meanwhile, were not neglected. Supplied with ample funds, and sustained by an approving Board of Trustees, he applied his peculiar skill in book selection to the development of special collections, adding much of unique value to the stately array of literary treasures for which the Boston Athenaeum is famous. Here, also, he began the preparation of a new catalogue, but that undertaking was destined to encounter many vicissitudes, due chiefly to the want of competent help, and was to reach completion only after Poole had given way to a successor in the person of Charles Ammi Cutter.

The sudden death of Charles C. Jewett, on January 8, 1868, created a vacancy in the chief position at the Boston Public Library. And, five weeks later, on February 15, Poole resigned from the librarianship of the Athenaeum. While there is no evidence that this apparently hasty action was prompted by his intention to become a candidate for the Public Library post, the assumption is at least reasonable. That there was no urgent call to service elsewhere is shown by his letter to the trustees, which makes mention merely of "future employment which I have now in contemplation." As a matter of fact, he remained at the Athenaeum until the close of

the calendar year, when his successor was appointed—which would indicate that there was nothing in his relations with his employers to make an early separation desirable. Sixteen years before, he had aspired to the place now again vacant. Both he and the Public Library had grown to maturity in the interval, and he was probably not alone in considering himself exceptionally well qualified to assume the management of that great institution. But, if this was indeed his object in quitting the position that he had occupied so long with honor and success, he was doomed to speedy disappointment. For, just ten days after the date of his resignation, it was announced that Justin Winsor had been appointed superintendent of the Boston Public Library.

So ended the Boston years of William F. Poole. For a few months he was occupied as "library expert," in which capacity he served some half-dozen libraries in various eastern cities. Late in the year 1869 he was called to Cincinnati to organize a new public library, and was appointed its first librarian. A call to Chicago in 1873, again to organize a new public library, brought him to that city where his busy and successful career closed with his death in 1894. Had he succeeded Jewett in 1869, it is more than probable that he would have remained in the chief city of his native state until the end. And it is altogether certain that library development in the Middle West, without the powerful influence of his long and forceful leadership, would have run a far different course.

MA VISITE A LA LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

PAR P. R. ROLAND-MARCEL

CE fut au cours de mon voyage dans l'Est et le Middle-west que, le 26 avril 1928, j'eus l'honneur et le plaisir de faire connaissance avec M. Herbert Putnam.

Nous étions arrivés depuis quinze jours aux Etats-Unis, Madame Roland-Marcel et moi. Ces deux semaines avaient passé trop rapidement à notre gré, car chaque heure nous procurait une satisfaction croissante.

Nos impressions se succédaient, promptes, intenses, pleines de nouveauté et d'intérêt. Les renseignements techniques que je recueillais ne cessaient de présenter pour moi la plus grande utilité; ils me causaient un contentement profond. En outre, la charmante hospitalité que nous recevions, les nombreuses attentions dont nous étions l'objet augmentaient de plus en plus notre sympathie pour les distingués *librarians* et leurs assistants. Nous arrivions ainsi à Washington le cœur plein de gratitude pour nos hôtes des jours précédents. En outre, j'étais vraiment satisfait d'avoir vu à l'œuvre, dans leurs bibliothèques pleines d'ordre, de perfectionnements modernes et d'activité, des collègues dont le nom, la valeur professionnelle et le dévouement civique m'étaient depuis longtemps connus, mais dont j'étais heureux d'avoir pu enfin serrer la main avec autant d'admiration que de cordialité.

Midi sonnait, par un beau jour de printemps ensoleillé, lorsque j'entrai dans l'office du Directeur de la *Library of Congress*.

J'y restai seul quelques instants avec Madame Roland-Marcel et il me fut facile de deviner quelques-uns des mérites de M. Herbert Putnam, en regardant simplement autour de moi. Mobilier net et confortable, table de travail en ordre

parfait, sans papiers ni dossiers accumulés, une table de chef qui ne s'encombre pas de documents inutiles, mais qui sait commander et diriger avec quelques moyens aisés, rapides et précis.

Puis mon éminent collègue entra. Gentleman parfait, aux yeux pleins d'intelligence et de vivacité, aux traits fins, énergiques, à la poignée de main loyale. De toute sa personne émanait l'impression du sang-froid, de la gaieté saine et contrôlée, d'une pleine possession de soi-même avec une grande promptitude à comprendre et à décider.

Nous causâmes cordialement. Et je pus alors apprécier combien M. Herbert Putnam avait des vues larges et sûres, de vastes connaissances sur les questions les plus diverses, non seulement américaines mais européennes. Il témoignait d'une profonde expérience des hommes à quelque milieu qu'ils appartiennent. Sans aucun doute, sa valeur personnelle et sa culture s'étaient développées aussi bien au contact des savants, des connaisseurs, des travailleurs intellectuels que des personnalités politiques, avec lesquelles il se trouve sans cesse en contact. Il possédait un sens averti des plus importants problèmes de l'heure présente.

Et ce qui me plut chez M. Herbert Putnam, c'est qu'il savait éviter tout pédantisme. Sa souple intelligence se jouait vraiment dans notre conversation, à travers les opinions et les faits, avec un humour qui rendait plus piquantes ses idées les plus différentes.

Puis un lunch cordial suivit autour de "la table ronde," quelque peu allongée pour la circonstance, en compagnie de collaborateurs dignes de leur chef, devant le beau paysage qui s'étend au delà des fenêtres, paysage qu'ennoblissent tant de glorieux témoignages historiques. M. Herbert Putnam nous fit ensuite visiter sa *library*.

J'en aimai la parfaite tenue, la discipline, l'activité in-

cessante et silencieuse. M'orientant avec aisance, grâce aux explications que me donnait complaisamment mon hôte, j'y retrouvai les divisions logiques de notre Bibliothèque Nationale et en appréciai les principales richesses. J'y discernai le soin avec lequel s'y harmonisent le respect du passé et la conservation de tant d'œuvres précieuses avec un souci constant de développement méthodique et d'innovation. Je compris le rôle décisif que joue ce puissant organisme dans la vie des autres bibliothèques des Etats-Unis, les services essentiels qu'il rend à tous les savants, techniciens et spécialistes qui ont le souci de cultiver leur esprit et d'élargir le champ de leurs connaissances.

Si bien que ma visite terminée, après un regard jeté sur la double exposition de graveurs contemporains et de documents de notre Révolution, je ne cachai pas à M. Herbert Putnam combien mérite de louanges l'œuvre que, sous sa direction ferme et éclairée, accomplissent tous ses collaborateurs non seulement pour le progrès croissant de l'esprit américain, mais encore pour celui de l'esprit humain. Ne serait-ce qu'à cause de son Service du Copyright de toutes les nations, la *Library of Congress* remplit une mission qui, par l'ampleur de ses activités, est sans doute unique au monde.

Ce que je n'oublierai pas non plus, c'est notre instant de commun silence devant le texte vénéré de la Constitution américaine. Il nous a rapprochés l'un de l'autre plus encore.

Quatre jours de suite, je revis M. Herbert Putnam et, chaque fois, je pus mieux apprécier les mérites qui lui assurent une personnalité si originale. Grâce à lui, nous passâmes des soirées charmantes, les séances musicales auxquelles il nous invita étant de la plus rare qualité artistique par le choix des œuvres et la parfaite exécution.

J'accomplis donc un acte naturel de gratitude et d'équité en me joignant à mes collègues américains pour louer, comme

il convient, les qualités d'intelligence, l'extrême urbanité et la valeur professionnelle si évidente de M. Herbert Putnam. Il est de ces hommes distingués qui honorent le plus notre corporation.

Aussi bien, en se joignant à MM. C. C. Williamson et W. W. Bishop, pour provoquer parmi mes confrères américains le magnifique mouvement de coopération intellectuelle qui favorisera la publication plus rapide du *Catalogue général de la Bibliothèque Nationale,* le Directeur de la *Library of Congress* s'est acquis de nouveaux droits à ma reconnaissance.

Je ne saurais donc trop souligner la satisfaction que j'éprouve en lui exprimant ici, une fois de plus, ma haute estime et ma sincère amitié.

THE LIBRARY OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY T. P. SEVENSMA

THE Library of the League of Nations is a very uncommon library. Although it has all the characteristics of a library, as there are a collection of about ninety thousand volumes of books, periodicals, and government publications, a reading room, catalogues, a well-trained staff, and a librarian interested in library work, it might be more accurately described as a research institute, rather than a research library. In order that this definition may be rightly understood it is necessary to give an idea of the demands made upon the library by the following groups of visitors: members of the Secretariat; delegations and league commissions; specialists and important international organizations; students, teachers, journalists; visitors from abroad.

Members of the Secretariat use the library to obtain immediate information on any given subject, e.g., the Kellogg Pact for the Outlawry of War; to prepare a certain subject, e.g., economic blockade or codification of international law; to compile serial technical documents, e.g., *Balance of Payments Memorandum, Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, Health Bulletin,* etc.; to follow regularly particular questions, e.g., minorities, disarmament.

Delegates require immediate information on any subject, e.g., minutes of a certain committee meeting, the text of a speech, etc.; legal reference service, e.g., dates, comparison, and texts of treaties, conventions, laws; access to certain definite books. To meet this requirement it is necessary for the library to duplicate several standard works, because as a rule delegates are not prepared to wait until books can be recalled.

Specialists. Renowned professors and other specialists from abroad come to Geneva to prepare books, pamphlets, or articles on international affairs, and do their research work in the library. Professors resident in Geneva also are accustomed to find the material they require in the League Library. Secretaries of international organizations follow the league work in the field of their interests: e.g., the Zionist Organization and the Palestine Mandate.

Students, teachers, and journalists. At present only advanced students, who are unable to find material at the Geneva University Library on the subject of their studies, are specially cared for. They generally require much attention, as frequently the purpose of their study is not exactly fixed.

Visitors with a very general interest "want to know something about the League." They often have wrong impressions and must be handled with care.

All these groups of consultants have different ways of using the library, and it will be seen that the League Library is much more an intensive international reference service than a library in the ordinary sense of the word. The future library must be, even to a wider extent, a research institute. All over the world interest in international affairs is growing rapidly, and there is an increasing influx of international organizations to Geneva.

The divergent interests of the above-mentioned groups make it necessary for the library to find solutions to all manner of problems and difficulties, such as the urgency of most demands (especially those emanating from the Secretariat and Delegates), the question of languages, which must be met by having a staff able to speak and understand several languages, and so forth. The international character of the readers presents a special problem. They are accustomed to find certain information in certain books in their respective

countries, and must be shown how to adapt themselves to the use of documentation arranged differently. Often visitors ask for material they cannot accurately describe, and the vagueness of their demands must be elucidated.

These difficulties and problems can be met only by having a well-instructed staff who have studied the branches of science and knowledge represented in the library, and who are equipped with the material necessary for their work. Only a specialized librarian working on a special collection, and being sufficiently acquainted with the material, is able to perform his or her duty. It is not the books that make this library, but the well-instructed staff.

CONTENTS OF THE LIBRARY

General Works. This collection must be as complete as possible, as information has to be supplied on a great variety of subjects. Most of the readers require the national, as well as the international point of view on subjects which interest them. This section is of great use to the administrative staff of the Secretariat, translators, *précis* writers, etc., and to the secretaries of delegations, who must obtain at short notice documentation on questions previously unfamiliar to them.

History. The historical collection in the Geneva University Library covering the period before 1815 is good; it would therefore be duplicating to build up a collection for that period in the League Library, which is specially interested in contemporary history.

Biographies and memoirs are much read by members of the Secretariat for instructive and recreative purposes.

Geography. This collection is very comprehensive. It forms the basis of most studies undertaken by the League on subjects of a political or technical nature, which generally begin with a description of the country concerned, e.g., Upper Silesia; loans to Austria or Portugal, etc.

Social Questions. The books and periodicals in this collection are particularly useful to the International Labor Office and other international organizations. The Social Section of the League is, of course, much interested in this material in connection with its own work, and also frequently sends visitors to the library to study social and humanitarian questions.

Economics and Finance. This section is of first importance in the technical work of the League Secretariat, and is used principally by the Economic Section and members of the Statistical Department of the Disarmament Section, and also by the International Labor Office, the University Institute of Higher International Studies at Geneva, and scholars in general. These groups of consultants base their research work mainly upon the material to be found in this collection.

Political Science chiefly interests the Secretariat and league delegations. Texts of constitutions are most often consulted. The section of material on political science is linked with that of laws.

Laws. This collection is one of the most used, one can say, by almost every category of readers. Texts of treaties, conventions, and laws are constantly asked for; also collections of national laws, as members of the Secretariat and delegates generally wish to quote examples of laws obtaining in their own countries. Not only must the law collection be kept up to date so that every text can be consulted immediately after publication, but an extensive backward range is a basic necessity for the work of the Secretariat.

Education. Students, teachers, and journalists, and also general visitors, are interested principally in material falling under this heading. It serves a very useful purpose in stimulating the interest of visitors in the league work.

Languages. Books on languages are of general use, and there are never enough copies of dictionaries! The library

must supply sources of information on linguistic questions which are of special interest to the Minorities Section.

Medicine and Public Health. Books and periodicals in this section are used almost exclusively by members of the Health Organization of the Secretariat. Medical dictionaries only are in general use. A center for documentation on health questions is in preparation.

Agriculture. Books and periodicals on agriculture are of interest from an economic point of view.

Transport Questions are an important league study, and the section of the library devoted to the subject is used by the Economic, as well as by the special Transport Section (officially termed "Transit Section"). The collection contains books and periodicals on railways, navigation, harbors, posts, telegraphs, air traffic, etc.

Military and Naval Questions. Literature on these questions is not for the exclusive use of the Disarmament Section, but is studied by other sections of the Secretariat, and is of much interest to international organizations and students.

Religion. This is represented in connection with the political and social activities of the churches, and also in relation to such subjects as Mohammedanism and Zionism. The collection is used principally by international organizations.

Public Government Documents. These are of special interest to readers studying the subjects which the documents treat as they contain official data given by the authorities publishing them. The Disarmament, Economic, and Health sections depend largely upon this official material for the preparation of their work.

INTERNAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE LIBRARY

THE library is bound to the Brussels classification, but this was not always suitable for the League Library—on the contrary.

It was changed and adapted according to the needs of the library. The alterations were not made by a thorough revision of the whole classification, but incidentally. As librarians may imagine, the results are not as one would like them to be.

In the dictionary catalogue the subject headings of the Library of Congress at Washington have been followed. This applies also to the cataloguing rules. As the cataloguing has been done by members of the staff who have had a thorough American library training, the results are perfectly satisfactory. The only difficulty is that most of the continental visitors are not yet familiar with this system, and have to adapt themselves to the use of the catalogue.

The League Library receives a considerable number of government publications and other official documents. This collection is of great importance as the work of the Secretariat is based on official data. The administration of these documents benefits largely by the experience of the Library of Congress, and the Congressional catalogue cards are very helpful to the assistant who has to catalogue this puzzling material.

Since the beginning of 1928 the library has published a *Monthly Accession List* of books and important official documents. The type set up for this list is used to print a sufficient number of catalogue cards to keep a stock for further needs.

A classified catalogue of all books and pamphlets on the League of Nations which have been catalogued in the library up to January, 1928, is about to be published. This will be a valuable guide to information on the League and international affairs.

The library is coöperating with the Publications Department in the preparation, printing, and distributing of catalogue cards (similar in type to those of the Library of Congress) for all league publications.

As the members of the Secretariat require current information, the most important periodicals received in the library are indexed, and a fortnightly "List of Selected Articles in Journals on Political, Social, Legal, Economic, Financial and Transport Questions" is prepared for internal distribution. Next year the list will be published, so that this important bibliographical material will be available to other libraries. In addition to this list there is distributed within the Secretariat a roneod weekly list of all official documents received.

These activities anticipate the future development of the library in the organism of the League.

STAFF OF THE LIBRARY

Although the official languages of the League are English and French, it is essential to have a really international library staff. A wide knowledge of languages is necessary for the successful handling of books and periodicals, and for intercourse with visitors to the library. The staff of the library reflects the international character of the League. The librarian is Dutch, and the following nationalities are represented: American, Australian, Austrian, Canadian, French, German, Italian, Latvian, Norwegian, Polish, Serbian, and Swiss. In the future library there will be a larger staff, and it will be possible for the librarian to increase the number of languages spoken.

THE FUTURE LIBRARY

As is now well known, Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has presented the magnificent sum of two million dollars to the League of Nations for the construction and endowment of an international library, and it may be of interest to give a short outline of the provisional plans for the future building which have been prepared by the librarian and approved by the Library Planning Committee set up to study the question.

The proposed division of rooms is based on the necessity of harmonizing the interests of the different groups of consultants and visitors previously mentioned.

The information bureau containing the catalogue and lending department will be in one room near the entrance. Visitors who are not acquainted with the library will be shown here how to consult the catalogue, bibliographies, etc., and directed to the rooms where they will find the literature they require. Visitors who are more or less superficially interested in the League can be directed to the museum room.

The newspaper and periodical reading room will contain a selection of important newspapers and periodicals for the use of members of the Secretariat, journalists, etc.

In the general reading room will be found all books and periodicals not treating subjects which are represented in the special reading rooms. There will be dictionaries, handbooks on a variety of subjects, books on modern history, geography, politics, etc., and a complete set of the publications of the League of Nations, and of the International Labor Office.

The museum room will be devoted to an exhibition, which will change from time to time, of books, graphic charts, portraits, pamphlets, curiosities, etc., illustrating the work and development of the League. This room will be so equipped that it may be easily converted into a lecture hall with accommodation for two hundred people. As a lecture hall it will be used by professors and other specialists for lectures or courses connected with the work of the League. It will not be placed at the disposal of lecturers as a general rule, however, but only in special cases. It is hoped to have facilities for the exhibition of lantern slides. If an audience of more than two hundred people is to be accommodated, the assembly building will afford space.

The four rooms described above will be placed most practically on the main floor of the building.

The special reading rooms will probably be on the first floor, where visitors will find a quieter atmosphere. They will be able to obtain their material promptly from the large special collections which will be in charge of specialized librarians.

In order to meet the constant demand from delegates, research students, translators of the treaties registered with the League Secretariat, etc., for the texts of treaties, conventions, etc., there will be a reading room for legal literature under the supervision of a trained assistant versed in legal subjects. There will also be a reading room for economic and mandate questions where readers can get up-to-date material without delay, as there will be a librarian or assistant at hand who is familiar with it.

To members of the Secretariat the proposed annexes to the special reading rooms, and the working rooms will be of the greatest interest as these rooms will simplify the use of the library for them. Technical sections rely largely on the library for the documentation needed for the preparation of their publications, and by segregation it will be easily accessible to them, without obliging them to write formal requests. This documentation service will make it possible to coördinate the interests of different sections of the Secretariat which need the same material, e.g., for the preparation of the Disarmament Yearbooks, the publications of the Economic Section and for the statistical work of the Health Section.

There will be a number of smaller rooms for occasional students. This accommodation is intended as a privilege for specialists, and will enable them to have a very quiet place

for their studies, and to leave their books and manuscripts on their tables. These rooms might also be available for a fixed term for secretaries of international organizations who wish to prepare bibliographies, for meetings of their organizations, etc.

Stacks will be constructed in the center of the building for at least one million volumes.

A bindery and photostat apparatus will complete the equipment.

The building itself will be constructed in such a way that future enlargement will be possible without changing the fundamental scheme. So in a few years' time the world will have at its disposal an attractive center for the study of international affairs.

4th December, 1928.

THE NATIONAL LIBRARY

BY WILLIAM ADAMS SLADE

EXULTANT mind that evermore has sought
And garnered light through dark, here freely gives
From out its store. Here is the realm of thought
Immortal, where each thinker ever lives—
Where words that glowed of old glow yet again,
Gleaming across the bournes of race and clime,
Instant to serve the present world of men,
Voicing in timeless speech the things of time.
Here to full day those scriptures are unsealed
That spelled the Fathers' trust in Freedom's name;
Here by her shrine are books to guard and shield
And set new measures to her sacred flame.
Seekers who come shall her own presence find,
Mantled with light of man's all-conquering mind.

THE UNITED STATES AND INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT

BY THORVALD SOLBERG

EARLY *State Copyright Acts*. Copyright is a personal right. It is a grant by law to the author of a book to secure to him the exclusive right to use it in any way he sees fit, to the exclusion of every other person. In the preambles to the early state laws on copyright, which were enacted prior to the passage of our first Federal Copyright Act of May 31, 1790, it is repeatedly declared that there is no property more peculiarly a man's own than that which is produced by the labor of his mind, and that "it is perfectly agreeable to the principles of natural equity and justice, that every author should be secured in receiving the profits that may arise from the sale of his works."

The enactment of those state laws was the beginning of our copyright legislation. The resolution passed by the Colonial Congress on May 2, 1783, recommended the several states "to secure to the authors or publishers of any new books not hitherto printed, being citizens of the United States, the copyright of such books for a certain time. . . ." These state laws provided protection for "books not yet printed," and the North Carolina Act specifically stated that it should not be construed to prevent any person from reprinting any book already published. But South Carolina and Virginia provided that the authors of books already printed, if the copies of such books had not been transferred to other persons, should have the sole right to continue printing them.

This resolution by Congress implied that the legislation recommended should secure to authors of the whole United

States protection in each state where such legislation was enacted, but eight of the states insisted that protection in the state should be contingent upon reciprocal protection in the other states, and should not extend to persons who were citizens or subjects of any other of the United States, until such state should have passed similar laws in favor of authors. Pennsylvania and Maryland even provided that their Acts should not be in effect until such time as all and every state in the Union should have passed similar laws.

Copyright in the United States for Foreign Authors under Provisions of Law. Foreign authors were not considered. The law of North Carolina provided that citizens of the United States "and none other" should be entitled to the benefit of the act, and that it should not prevent any person from importing, reprinting, or publishing a book originally published in any other country. South Carolina also provided that nothing in its Act should prohibit the "importation, vending, or selling of any book in Greek or Latin, or any other foreign language, printed beyond the seas."

Our first Federal Copyright Act of 1790 contained the following provision:

> That nothing in this Act shall be construed to extend to prohibit the importation or vending, reprinting or publishing within the United States, of any map, chart, book or books, written, printed, or published by any person not a citizen of the United States, in foreign parts or places without the jurisdiction of the United States.

This provision was repeated in the copyright acts of 1831, 1870, and in the Revised Statutes of 1873. Its inclusion in our early copyright laws permitted and laid the foundation for the regrettable long-continued practice of literary piracy which brought much discredit upon the United States. More than a century elapsed before legislation was enacted which permitted foreign authors to obtain copyright in the United States.

Prior to 1891 the copyright law provided that "any citizen of the United States or resident therein" who was the author of a book or other copyrightable work should have the sole liberty of printing and vending it. The Act of March 3, 1891, struck out the words which limited this right to an author who was a citizen, thus opening the way for the protection of foreign authors. But the copyright secured by the Act could only extend to a work by "a citizen or subject of a foreign state or nation" when the benefit of copyright was accorded to our nationals in the country of the foreign author on substantially the same basis as to its own citizens. This is the only reference to foreign authors contained in the Act.

In 1909, when the copyright laws were again subjected to a painstaking revision, the same stipulations with respect to reciprocal protection were enacted. Important amendments incorporated were to accord to composers the exclusive right to perform their copyrighted music publicly for profit; the right to make or authorize the making of instruments serving to reproduce such works mechanically, and the right to collect a royalty of two cents on each instrumental part manufactured. The extension of these new rights to foreign authors was made contingent upon the granting of "similar rights" to our nationals, "either by treaty, convention, agreement or law" in the foreign author's country.

The President has issued copyright proclamations in behalf of some twenty-odd foreign countries. The international copyright relations thus established, however, are not treaty relations. They only provide that in exchange for the extension to citizens of the United States of all rights with respect to literary and artistic property accorded by the laws of those countries to their own nationals, the rights and remedies granted by our copyright laws are extended to foreign authors. The conditions and formalities prescribed by our laws are binding upon the foreign author, who, in order to secure

the protection desired, must fully comply with all the requirements imposed by our laws.

International Copyright by Treaty. The United States has entered into very few copyright treaties, rightly so called. Our earliest was with Germany signed on January 15, 1892, wherein it was stipulated that citizens of the United States should enjoy in the German Empire the protection of copyright on the same basis on which such protection was granted to subjects of Germany, and in return, the President issued the usual copyright proclamation on April 1, 1892. This agreement is in the form of a treaty, but the document was never submitted to the Senate for its approval.

On January 12, 1904, the President ratified a commercial treaty with China, article XI of which agreed to protect in that country for ten years translations of books into Chinese as well as maps, prints, or engravings "especially prepared for the use and education of the Chinese people." With the exception of such books, Chinese subjects were at liberty to make, print, and sell original translations into Chinese of any works by American authors. Our next copyright treaties were with Japan. The first, ratified on March 7, 1906, provided for the reciprocal protection of works of literature and art as well as photographs, but permitted nationals of each country to translate without authorization books, dramas, or musical works published in the other country. A convention between the United States and Japan providing for reciprocal protection in China for "the inventions, designs, trade-marks and copyrights of their respective citizens and subjects" was signed on May 19, 1908, and a similar agreement with respect to protection in Korea was signed on the same day.

The copyright treaty between the United States and Hungary of October 15, 1912, provides that the authors of each country shall enjoy in the other country "the same rights which the respective laws do now or may hereafter grant to

natives," upon complying with the conditions and formalities prescribed by the laws of the country where protection is claimed.

On December 16, 1920, the United States entered into a treaty with Siam, which was proclaimed by the President on October 12, 1921. Its thirteenth article was to the effect that each country should enjoy in the other, "upon fulfillment of the formalities prescribed by law," the same protection as native citizens or subjects with respect to patents, trade-marks, trade names, designs, and copyrights.

Copyright has usually been a subject upon the agendas of the various Pan-American Conferences. A general treaty for the protection of copyrights was adopted at Montevideo in 1888, and was ratified by the ten South American countries. This Convention was submitted to Congress by President Harrison on July 11, 1890, but there is no record that any action was taken. At the Second International Conference of American States held at Mexico from October 22, 1901, to January 22, 1902, a "Convention on Literary and Artistic Property" was formulated and signed, which was ratified by Guatemala, Salvador, and Costa Rica in 1902; by Honduras and Nicaragua in 1904; and by the United States on April 9, 1908.

At the third conference held at Rio de Janeiro, July 21 to August 26, 1906, a convention covering patents, drawings and industrial models, trade-marks, and literary and artistic property was signed by the United States and nineteen Latin American countries. At the fourth conference, held at Buenos Aires, July 12 to August 30, 1910, a "Convention on Literary and Artistic Copyright" was signed by the United States and all of the South and Central American countries, excepting Bolivia. This Convention was proclaimed by President Taft on July 13, 1914, and has been ratified by Bolivia, Brazil,

Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, and Uruguay.

The fifth conference, held at Santiago, Chile, from March 25 to May 3, 1923, adopted a resolution proposing amendments to the Convention of 1910. At the sixth conference held at Habana, Cuba, January 16 to February 20, 1928, a revised text of the 1910 Convention was adopted. This it is understood was signed by the delegates of all the countries represented including the United States but it has not yet been submitted to the Senate for its advice.

Conditions and Formalities: American Manufacture; Prohibition of Importation. The Act of 1891 provided that no person should be entitled to a copyright unless he had filed the title of his work for registration, had deposited copies of the work seeking protection, and had printed in all copies a notice of copyright. In addition the act required the American manufacture of books, photographs, chromos, and lithographs, and prohibited the importation of copies of these works not so manufactured.

The 1909 amendatory act retained the requirements of notice, deposit, and registration, but abrogated the typesetting requirement with respect to "books of foreign origin in a language or languages other than English." "Photographs" and "chromos" also disappeared from the provision requiring American manufacture, but lithographs and photo-engravings must still be produced by "a process wholly performed within the limits of the United States," and the obligatory printing of books in English from type set within the United States was retained and was required to be supported by an affidavit of such manufacture. The importation of books not so printed is prohibited during the entire existence of the American copyright, with the exception of any book "imported, not more than one copy at one time, for individual

use and not for sale," or by or for certain societies or institutions, colleges, schools, or public libraries, such importation not to include authorized foreign reprints of books by American authors which were copyrighted in the United States.

The purpose of international copyright is to secure to all authors, automatically, protection for their works *everywhere*. The product of an author's mind is property of a kind that lends itself to such world protection. Under modern conditions an author can send his work to all parts of the world, but he should be assured that it will be respected wherever it goes. If a book, copies of it can be sent into all the countries of the International Postal Union upon payment of a few cents of postage. It is contended that an author's book should be thus fully protected *everywhere* and, as a corollary, that authorized copies of his book should be permitted to go unchallenged to every part of the world.

Copyright Relations between the United States and Great Britain. Briefly reviewing the international copyright relations between Great Britain and the United States, we find that from 1790 to 1891 our legislation itself permitted and encouraged the appropriation of the English author's book without his consent. From July 1, 1891, we allowed the British author to apply for the rights accorded by our copyright statute, but required, as a condition for obtaining such rights, that he should reprint his book in the United States; should deposit copies of it; should inscribe a notice in it; and should register it. We further prohibited him from selling his book in quantity in the United States.

Recognizing the difficulty of securing an American publisher for his book at the time of first publication of it in England and the equity of protecting the British author's rights pending the production of the American reprint, the latter was allowed thirty days in which to deposit and register his book, whereupon he was assured protection for another

thirty days. After a delay of ten years these periods of grace were increased to sixty days for depositing the copy and an *ad interim* copyright protection for four months. But this extended protection is only to enable him to reprint his book here. He cannot sell British copies of it in the United States. The Treasury Department has ruled that while importation is permitted of "books seeking ad interim protection," it is the importation only of the single copy required to be deposited in the Copyright Office for copyright registration, and the importation of the book in quantity is prohibited. A consignment of copies made to the claimant of copyright himself of the English edition of a book registered for *ad interim* copyright was recently seized and notification sent to him that the release of the books could only be secured by *"abandoning the copyright* and obliterating the copyright notice!"

It is admitted that this typesetting requirement is but a measure of protection in behalf of the American printer. No copyright principle is involved. The author's thought, his language, his style remain the same, whether his book is set up in a printing house in England or in the United States. The mere reprinting in America of the text of the British author's book is not necessarily any gain either to the author or his readers. It is only important with respect to the profits obtainable from reprinting the book.

The British law does not require for copyright protection that an American author's book shall be printed in Great Britain, only that first or simultaneous publication of it shall take place there. The British order in council conferring copyright protection upon the unpublished works of citizens of the United States provides that the British Copyright Act shall apply to works by American authors "in like manner as if the authors had been British subjects," or in like manner as if residence in the United States "had been residence in the parts of His Majesty's dominions to which the said Act ex-

tends." Our laws require American and British authors to do the same things, but the conditions under which they must be done are very different. While reciprocity is stressed, the conditions imposed are not reciprocal. To require the American author to manufacture his work in the United States is not a hardship. That would be his normal procedure. But it is an entirely different matter to compel an English author to send his manuscript across the ocean in order to print his book here. And when he has already printed and published his book in England, it is imposing a serious burden to compel him to have it reprinted in the United States in order to secure the copyright protection guaranteed to him under our statute.

The International Copyright Union. After copyright protection had been secured by domestic legislation in behalf of the authors of the various countries of Europe, it was found desirable that this protection should also be extended to authors of countries with which there had been developed a close literary intercourse, especially where there existed a common language. The result was a series of copyright treaties or conventions between different countries. Presently it was realized that it was feasible for a number of countries to agree to offer copyright protection in each of them for the works of the authors of all of them, and the idea of a general copyright treaty led to a proposal, advanced at a copyright meeting in Rome in 1882, for such a convention as the basis for an international copyright union. After discussion in conferences held at Berne, Switzerland, in 1883, 1884, and 1885, in 1886 an international copyright convention was signed at Berne on September 9 of that year by ten countries, the initial members of the resulting International Copyright Union, which went into effect on September 5, 1887. This Convention was revised at Paris in 1896, Berlin in 1908, and

Rome in 1928, where a single copy in the French language was signed on Saturday, June 2, 1928.

According to the first article of this Convention, the countries which have signed and ratified it are "constituted into a Union for the protection of the rights of authors in their literary and artistic works." Authors belonging to one of the countries of the Union enjoy for their works, whether unpublished or published for the first time in one of the countries of the Union, such rights in the other countries as their laws now accord or shall hereafter accord to nationals. The enjoyment and the exercise of such rights are not subject to any formality. The extent of the protection, as well as the means of redress to safeguard the author's rights, are regulated exclusively by the legislation of the country where the protection is claimed. Authors who publish their works for the first time in one of the Union countries, whether they belong to one of these countries or not, enjoy in such country the same rights as national authors.

A provision added at Rome safeguards the author's moral right over his work by stipulating that under all circumstances he retains the right to claim the paternity of his work, as well as the right to object to every deformation, mutilation, or other modification of it, which may be prejudicial to his honor or to his reputation.

The term of copyright protection fixed by the Convention is the life of the author and fifty years after his death. But a shorter term may be fixed by the law of the country where protection is claimed.

The Convention contains many specific provisions with respect to the protection of an author's work. Positive declaration is made that authors are to enjoy the exclusive right to authorize the communication of their works to the public by radio diffusion; or to authorize the reproduction, the adap-

tation, and the public representation of their works by means of the cinematograph; that composers of musical works shall have the exclusive right to authorize the adaptation of them to instruments serving to reproduce them mechanically, and to authorize the public performance of the same works by means of such instruments. The Convention applies to all works which, at the time it goes into effect, are still protected by copyright in their country of origin.

The Convention must be ratified not later than July 1, 1931. Meantime countries not within the Union (the United States for example) have up to August 1, 1931, the privilege of entering the Copyright Union by means of adhesion either to the Convention of Berlin of 1908, or to the Convention of Rome of 1928.

Entrance of the United States into the International Copyright Union. In the long interval between 1887, when the Copyright Union was organized, and 1928, one country after another has become a member until some forty states are now included. The United States, Russia, and China are noticeable because of their absence. At the conferences for revision held at Berlin in 1908 and at Rome in 1928, delegates from the United States were in attendance, but were without authority to vote upon proposed amendments or to sign the adopted Convention. Until August 1, 1931, the United States may enter the Copyright Union by means of adhesion, either to the Convention of 1908, or to the Convention of 1928. It would seem that if the United States is to enter the Union, after a delay of more than forty years, it would be retrogressive and undesirable to adhere to a text already twenty years old. There seems no good reason why the United States should not subscribe to the recent and up-to-date text of 1928.

Many reasons may be advanced why the United States should become a member of this Union. Our entry is demanded as an act of fairness upon our part. Our authors may

automatically secure protection for their works in all the countries of the Union by first or simultaneous publication in any one of the Union countries, for example, England. In the 1928 Convention provisions have now been inserted, however, to enable Union countries to restrict the protection within their territories for works by authors belonging to non-Union countries, for example, the United States.

One of the most fruitful agencies for bringing about friendly relations between different peoples is found in their printed literature. There can be no question of the distinct advantages of a free and full exchange of books and magazines between the United States and European countries. One great hindrance to such a reasonable and beneficent exchange is the present lack of adequate and truly reciprocal copyright protection. Nothing so surely makes for the production and the wide circulation of books as adequate and assured security for the rights of their authors, and not only so, but their sacredness as literary property is necessary to their just appreciation. Books which may be reprinted without regard to their authors are necessarily tinged with the disrespect which goes with the act of misappropriation.

Fifty years ago Professor Shaler of Harvard added to the literature on copyright a small volume entitled *Thoughts on the Nature of Intellectual Property*. He made a strong plea for the sacredness of an author's rights with respect to his created work. His wise words are well worth quoting and considering even now, and perhaps especially so at this juncture. He says in part:

> When we come to weigh the rights of the several sorts of property which can be held by man, and in this judgment take into consideration only the absolute question of justice, leaving out the limitations of expediency and of prejudice, it will be clearly seen that intellectual property is, after all, the only absolute possession in the world. . . . The man who brings out of nothingness some child of his thought has

rights therein which cannot belong to any other sort of property . . . the inventor of a book or other contrivance of thought holds his property, as a god holds it, by right of creation.

So the restrictions which we may cast around the property of intellect must be made with the confession of the rightfulness of that property. They must be made with the acceptance of the proposition that it has the same sanctities as other human interests, and that society is as much interested in maintaining its bounds as it is in protecting ancestral acres, or the other well accepted forms of property.

Intellectual property has been slowly growing into recognition in our laws for some centuries past, and this development of legal protection has been followed by an enormous increase in the proportion of human endeavor that has been given to the work of improving the physical and mental condition of man. . . . Whatever tends to lower the protection given to intellectual property is so much taken from the forces which have been active in securing the advances of society during the last centuries.

For more than a hundred years we have—to repeat Professor Shaler's words—"cast restrictions around the property of intellect," and for nearly forty years our copyright legislation has failed to take into consideration "only the absolute question of justice," and has persistently applied the "limitations of expediency and of prejudice" with the result that as regards international copyright the United States occupies an undignified and criticized position. Adhesion to the Rome Convention of 1928 and entry into the International Copyright Union would be a definite advance.

THE FUTURE OF MUSICOLOGY IN AMERICA

BY O. G. SONNECK[1]

ALEXANDER WHEELOCK THAYER, whose biography of Beethoven still represents America's greatest contribution to musicology, died on July 15, 1897. Had he lived a few years longer, undoubtedly the fitting tribute of honorary membership would have been paid to him, when Prof. Albert A. Stanley organized the United States Section of the International Society of Music (Internationale Musik Gesellschaft). With the organization of that body a respectable number of kindred spirits, though with an infusion of unfit elements forced on us by circumstances, had found a rallying center. Not that, under the presidency first of Professor Stanley and then of Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, numerous contributions to musicology poured from America into the publishing organs of the I.M.G.—indeed, they were comparatively few and by still fewer scholars—but the yearly gatherings, generally in conjunction with the annual meetings of the Music Teachers' National Association, afforded stimulating personal contacts and fostered cohesion. More important even than this, the monthly and quarterly magazines of the society kept our members in touch with the ideals, objects, and accomplishments of musicology.

However modest our part of the whole, it was at least an organized movement in the right direction. The war totally demolished the structure, and today the United States Section of the I.M.G. is but a dim memory; most of its scattered remnants are buried in silence or void of enough centripetal magnetism to permit Americans to play much of a part in the new international society of musicologists, the Société In-

1. This is the last article that Mr. Sonneck wrote; he died on October 30, 1928.

ternationale de Musicologie, founded in 1927. Nevertheless, the great compliment was paid America by electing—I am happy to say, at my suggestion—my successor at the Library of Congress, Mr. Carl Engel, into the inner council of this new society which has revived, if not the machinery, at least the idea and ideals of the defunct I.M.G. Mr. Engel attempted in the spring of 1928, at a meeting called by him at Washington during the music festival at the Library of Congress, to arouse wider interest in a certain musicological project connected with the library. He failed in his purpose; and —I am not saying this in a spirit of carping criticism—he could not but fail in view of the fact that the mixture of the enthusiasts present was too heterogeneous and because very few of them knew the meaning of musicology.

Just what is musicology? Instead of attempting an answer by way of a definition which, as most definitions do, merely substitutes several words for one, I shall approach the question in the manner of old-fashioned song-accompanists who would prelude the prelude of a song with some compositorial notions of their own. Accordingly, first a chord or two on the publication, about a year ago, of a slender volume which was merely a primer of the rudiments of music, but on which the proud authoress had bestowed the title *Musicology*. Evidently she liked the term, whatever meaning it may have conveyed to her, better than does a certain gentleman who in principle takes an interest in musicology, but whose interest is paralyzed by the term which he dislikes. Modulating into a neighboring key, I remember that recently a certain benefactress of music felt attracted enough to the mysterious term to desire the addition of a musicological department to the musical institute founded by her. She even announced this intention as a *fait accompli* but, presumably because she had been asked the question with which this paragraph opens, she proceeded to put the same question. She received rather

an intelligent answer, whereupon she decided to defer the installation of a musicological department for an indefinite period.

After this suspension, as we musicians call it, with an harmonically unrelated *arpeggio* into a college town of the Mid-West! There a very wealthy and public-spirited gentleman was approached with the urgent plea to donate to the college one of the most important private collections of music and books on music assembled in Europe during the last hundred years. It was to be had *en bloc* and, prior to auction, at an abnormally low price. Everything went smoothly until the gentleman learned that the collection contained a great many rarities of the kind that gladdens the hearts of musicologists. Thereupon he declined to spend his money on a museum because he abhorred museums.

By way of ending this lengthy prelude to my short song, I turn to an authoress of a somewhat ambitious book on music. About certain statements in it I found occasion to express my doubts. She in turn expressed her astonishment at my doubts and enumerated about a dozen supporting *authorities* whom she had read in the course of her "musicological research." It so happened, however, that ten of the books were merely commercial compilations and all ten were based on the same two authorities, one of whom is by now superseded and obsolete. At best, then, the twelve apostles of verity dwindled down to precisely one as against the doubting Thomas.

And now, just what is musicology? My answer is, and I shall let it go at that: Musicology is to music what philology is to literature or what any kind of "ology" is to its proper sphere of mental discipline; but in these pages I am speaking more specifically of musicology in the narrower sense of history of music, though it may be history as ramified and as broad as one cares to view it. Granted that a multimillionaire,

too, enjoys the privilege of spending his money according to his tastes and fancies, nevertheless it is a pity that an idiosyncrasy can so affect an otherwise liberal mind as to deprive America of an opportunity, probably unique, to add a magnificent musicological library to the deplorably few she possesses.

One may concede that, for instance, ichthyology is not a pretty word; but this is hardly a valid reason for adopting a negative attitude toward the scientific study of fish until, and unless, a prettier word be substituted. As for the brand of "musicological research" just mentioned, I question whether any person, interested in the study of fish, would with equal ingenuousness qualify the copying of fish-stories as ichthyological research. On the other hand, I can hardly imagine that the founder of an academic institution would be so overawed by a definition of philology as to look upon philology as a sort of liability which had better be deferred as long as possible.

The real discomfiture of musicology in America, as I see it, lies in this—that of all the arts music is still supposed to be so mysterious a manifestation of the divine afflatus that its study, in the sense of "*Das Ding an sich,*" is considered almost sacrilegious; and if not that, at least wholly superfluous —for practical purposes. Unless a bit of historical investigation serves some "practical purpose," journalistic scoffers superciliously eye it as of "merely antiquarian interest." But who determines what a practical purpose is and where it begins or ends? Also, why must a practical purpose always underlie a student's historical curiosity? If Beauty be self-sufficient, so is Science and, if you please, even the Science of Beauty. What sets music so far apart from literature that what one might call the philology of music requires the passport of a practical purpose? In the last analysis, such a doctrine would reduce all historical writing on music to a

species of advertising copy; and much of it in our country, I regret to say, is precisely that and little more. However, if a practical purpose or result be the test of the right to exist, then the musicologist may rightly insist that he be given at least the benefit of the doubt, on the theory that in other branches of learning, too, sometimes decades pass before a perfectly useless, impractical, abstract piece of research or reasoning transforms itself into gold. And, if not into gold, at least into something helpful to pianists, singers, composers, or others afflicted with the germ of music.

The proof of this pudding lies most enticingly in the eating, when both the cooking and the eating are done by musicians themselves instead of by professional musicologists. This little episode, which I witnessed, may serve to illustrate the point. For years, a very great pianist of a conspicuously keen and intuitive mind had found himself interpreting, with artistic conviction, passages in a sonata by Beethoven very differently from what the supposedly authoritative edition of Beethoven's works—authoritative because supposedly based on the master's manuscripts—demanded. He happened to look at those passages in the recently published facsimile of that sonata, and triumphantly he pointed out to a fellow pianist that what both of them had habitually been doing in violation of the authoritative text, was plainly, indeed unquestionably, called for by Beethoven himself. The critical and learned editor simply had nodded, thereby falsifying for posterity Beethoven's intentions. The ludicrous part of the episode consists in this: That these two artists had been able to defend themselves against the charge of tampering with Beethoven only by relying on their artistic instincts. Now let us suppose that they had not seen the facsimile and let us further suppose that some musicologist had made it his business to re-compare the "authoritative" edition with the extant manuscripts of Beethoven (or their facsimiles), it is fairly

safe to assume that he would have discovered and described the same discrepancies—and discrepancies, be it noted, of quite a "practical" nature—but it is also fairly safe to contend that in that case the two pianists probably would never have seen his discoveries, and would have continued to be on the defensive against colleagues and critics relying on the supposedly authoritative edition. Unfortunately so—and that is precisely my point!

CHINESE BOOKS

THEIR CHARACTER AND VALUE AND THEIR PLACE IN THE WESTERN LIBRARY

BY WALTER T. SWINGLE

THE Chinese have for ages been a book-loving people. In 221 B.C. Shih Huang Ti, the despotic founder of the Ch'in Dynasty, in order to abolish feudalism and introduce a centralized government, found it necessary to break with the past by ordering the destruction of all books except those on medicine, agriculture, and divination. His action is indirect but striking evidence of the great influence exerted by books in the third century before Christ. As soon as the Ch'in Dynasty had been succeeded by the Han Dynasty the work of restoring the ancient classics and of collecting together a great library of books was actively undertaken. The law ordering the destruction of literary works was repealed in 190 B.C. and everyone was encouraged to bring forth ancient books that had been concealed during the past thirty years when books had been under the ban. The Han emperors gave great importance to this matter and books brought to light after being secreted for a generation were delivered up to the emperor and placed on the shelves of the Imperial Library, which soon became a very important collection of books. By the end of the former Han Dynasty in 24 A.D. this library comprised works in many thousands of sections by hundreds of authors, classed in six groups. Along with this effort public education was liberally fostered. In 124 B.C. the Emperor Wu Ti first established a sort of national university for the study of the restored Confucian classics.

About two centuries later Ts'ai Lun made a fundamentally

important discovery which enormously cheapened the production of books, namely, the invention of paper. Originally Chinese records had been written on tablets of bamboo with a sharp stylus; afterward, they were written on closely woven silk, but the bamboo tablets were bulky and the silk expensive and perishable, hence Ts'ai Lun's invention, which he laid before the throne in 105 A.D., was immediately recognized as of very great importance. The Emperor himself commended Ts'ai Lun on his ability and a few years later he was ennobled as marquis. His invention very soon came into general use and was known as Marquis Ts'ai's "silk" or *chih* (the character means literally clan-silk, but is now used only to denote paper). He manufactured paper out of the inner bark of trees, ends of hemp, old rags, and fishing nets, and the paper was distinguished as hemp paper, bark paper, net paper, etc. It is a significant fact that the use of paper, although it soon became universal in China and its manufacture was carried on in all parts of the empire, did not spread to the western world until the Arabs finally carried paper and the art of its manufacture into Egypt and other Mediterranean countries many centuries after its discovery in China and even then paper did not entirely supplant parchment and vellum in Europe for several centuries after its first appearance in the West.

Between 172 and 177 A.D. the Confucian classics were revised by a commission of scholars and engraved under their direction on stone tablets which were placed outside the national university which had been established forty years before by the Emperor Shun Ti. This university is said to have comprised twenty-four buildings containing 815 rooms and to have accommodated more than thirty thousand students. About this time began the practice of making rubbings of such authentic texts of important works engraved on stone

tablets. Indeed such impressions could not have been made effectively before the advent of Marquis Ts'ai's paper.

The Birth of Printing. During the brilliant but short-lived Sui Dynasty, 581 to 618 A.D., the art of printing was invented. The Chinese records state that it was first practiced in 592 A.D. during the reign of Wên Ti, the founder of this progressive dynasty. The art of printing as developed in the Sui Dynasty was evidently imperfect, for very few books were printed even during the succeeding T'ang Dynasty (618 to 907 A.D.) when literary activity of all kinds reached high intensity and in the field of poetry attained a level which has never been equaled since.

The first use of printing on a scale large enough to have any influence on the production of books was apparently during the five short dynasties when Fêng Tao, who lived from 881 to 954 A.D., together with Li Yu, a fellow minister of the posterior Han Dynasty memorialized the throne in 932 A.D. suggesting that the nine classics be revised and printed from wooden blocks. This undertaking was approved and carried out, the work being completed in 952 A.D. This ambitious undertaking doubtless led to the perfecting of the printer's art, for from this time on printing rapidly superseded the multiplication of books by making manuscript copies, and from the end of the tenth century on to the present time printing has been almost universally used in China.

The western scholar who sees for the first time a beautifully printed Chinese book dating from the eleventh or twelfth century, with its clear unblemished white paper, with the Chinese characters printed in wonderfully jet black ink, can hardly believe that such a book is six or eight hundred years old; for, to judge from its appearance, it would seem to have been printed only a few decades ago. Anyone familiar with Chinese books can recall numerous examples of superbly

artistic printing in which every detail of paper, type, form, and arrangement are in wonderful harmony.

The Chinese language, being expressed by a large number —some twenty thousand or more—of characters, is not nearly so well adapted for printing with movable type as are the alphabetic languages of the West; nevertheless, the Chinese early experimented with movable types and a famous geographer and agriculturist, Wang Chêng, of the Yüan Dynasty, cut a set of movable wooden types, devised a revolving table upon which to arrange the very numerous Chinese types, and printed from these types his famous *Nung Shu,* an illustrated work on Chinese agriculture. A chapter in this work, printed in 1313 A.D., gives a history of his set of movable type and makes the very significant remark that recently movable types had been cast from metal in matrices, although he did not himself follow this method, but engraved the characters on wooden blocks and afterward sawed the blocks apart into individual types.

It can no longer be doubted that the printer's art, from the manufacture of paper, printer's ink, blocks for printing, and movable type—both engraved and cast—as well as printing presses themselves, were all invented by the Chinese and used by them centuries before they were used in any other country. It is no exaggeration to say that printing on paper is the basic art of civilization without which civilization itself could not exist in its present form.

Advantage of Block Printing in China. Block printing from engraved wooden blocks has many advantages over movable type for the printing of Chinese books. In the first place, the cost of the outfit for printing is enormously reduced if blocks are used; in the second place, movable types were not only expensive, but difficult to use on account of the enormous number of characters, being hard to store in an orderly fashion and hard to find promptly when needed in

setting type. On the contrary, Chinese printing from wooden blocks is simplicity itself. It is merely necessary to cut down the nearest wild pear tree, saw the wood up into blocks of the right size, then paste on these blocks the carefully written manuscript which serves to guide the engraver in carving the block. The natural result of this cheap and simple process of printing was to decentralize completely the printer's art in China. Books were published even in remote villages all over the empire and since the Chinese examination system placed all important administrative positions in the hands of highly educated men who were never allowed to serve in their native provinces, scholars of standing were found scattered all over China, and they in turn upon the conclusion of their official career retired in honor to their native villages and usually occupied the final years of their life in literary work of one kind or another. As a result of the decentralization of printing and of the civil service examination system Chinese printed books have been published in enormous numbers all over China during the past thousand years. As a natural result of this state of affairs it is highly probable that more books were published in China than in all the rest of the world put together up to a time as recent as the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Embarrassment of Riches. Here we touch upon a matter which seems at first paradoxical, namely, that the great volume of Chinese records, even though they are in most cases, not only exceedingly well written and carefully edited, but also unusually trustworthy, has operated, nevertheless, to hinder rather than help us to get a knowledge of the Chinese people and of their peculiar and highly characteristic civilization. Had the Chinese been a barbarous people without printed records they would long ago have been completely studied and thoroughly understood by western peoples. They are, on the contrary, a highly civilized people having the

oldest continuous civilization of high standard to be found in the world today. They are, moreover, a people having a strong historical sense and an age-old custom of recording clearly and fully every detail relating to administrative procedure as well as to everything concerning the geography, transportation, products, and industries of their vast empire. They are, furthermore, a people who perhaps more than any other people in the world have the keenest possible interest in family history, biography, genealogy, and in the writings of their great scholars. The natural result of this situation is that western scholars in spite of all the good work they have done in the study of Chinese have barely scratched the surface of this field. Until after the revolution of 1911 foreign scholars had practically no access to any important Chinese official or family library.

Another field in which Chinese records are unrivaled is that of the so-called gazetteers or annals for each administrative division of the country. These gazetteers of the empire, the provinces, prefectures, and districts are a veritable mine of information as they not only give full accounts of the mountains, rivers, roads, lakes, estuaries, etc., but also of the political subdivisions, villages, temples, etc., and records of the natural products and manufactures of the region, or remarkable events, and above all elaborate and full biographies of famous men and women native to the region. Those who have seen most of this branch of Chinese literature are most impressed with its value as a source of material for study of China and its productions and local history. All the gazetteers noted above are official in character, but there are others describing rivers, mountains, temples, and islands that are unofficial but often of very great interest. There are also voluminous records of wars and rebellions and well-illustrated accounts of inspection trips by the emperors and high officials or by private travelers.

Encyclopedias. Encyclopedias were apparently, like many other things, a Chinese invention. The Chinese have long led the world in the number, character, size, and value of the encyclopedias they have compiled. The oldest encyclopedias extant were compiled during the seventh and eighth centuries, but printed encyclopedias date back nearly a thousand years.

The so-called Imperial Encyclopedia, the *T'u shu chi ch'êng,* was compiled by order of the great Manchu emperor, K'ang Hsi, and was published sumptuously with numerous illustrations by the imperial presses in 1726 A.D. This work contains more than ten thousand books and the imperial editions are bound in something over five thousand volumes which occupy, closely packed, more than two hundred feet of shelf room in the library. This monumental compilation which gives very full quotations from Chinese works of all ages has been a veritable mine of information for western students of China and the Chinese. Dictionaries are second only to encyclopedias in importance as books of reference in a Chinese library and many of them are very bulky.

Collections of Reprints. One of the most important applications of the art of printing made by the Chinese was to save by its use innumerable ancient Chinese works from loss or mutilation. The Confucian classics and other outstanding works would, of course, have been reproduced indefinitely as manuscripts, subject however to the systematic errors inherent to all manuscript copies. However, the minor works even of the great masters and the great mass of productions, many of them important, by authors of only mediocre reputation from a literary standpoint, were continually being lost. During the Sung Dynasty such works were first brought together in collections of reprints, which class of publications has continued to increase in importance up to the present time. Some of the most valuable collections of reprints have

been published since the revolution and give photolithographic reproductions of fine old editions from three to eight hundred years old. Probably more than a thousand of such collections of reprints have been issued and in them are reproduced tens of thousands of Chinese works, many of which have since become exceedingly rare or have disappeared entirely as independent works. These collections of reprints, together with the encyclopedias have been the chief dependence of foreign scholars in their investigations of Chinese literature.

We in America are exceedingly fortunate in that the Chinese collection in the Library of Congress contains about five hundred collections of reprints, probably as many as are found in any single library in China and many more than are found in any other western library.

The historical writings of China are unique in all the world in that they are compiled by official historians, not subject to supervision even by the emperor himself, who wrote the official history utilizing the censor's records kept day by day during the dynasty they are describing. The censors, like the official historians, were immune to criticism and consequently recorded day by day the important events of history with an absolutely free pen. Moreover, it is an age-old Chinese custom that the official history shall not be published until the dynasty it records has fallen. This operates to give great freedom in publishing the work of the official historiographers, since the dynasty being described and its chief supporters had fallen from power before the history was compiled. As a matter of fact, no other country in the world, until the advent of the daily newspapers in the West, had available for the use of historians anything comparable to the data compiled and preserved by the Chinese censors and historiographers.

Besides the official dynastic histories of which twenty-four have been published, there are innumerable historical works,

many of them of great importance, that are indispensable to a full understanding of Chinese history. The Chinese are doubtless the most historically-minded people in the world and every educated man has a surprisingly accurate knowledge of the history of his country.

In still another field the Chinese records are most exceptional, namely, in the collected writings of great scholars. For a thousand years and more it has been a custom to compile the writings of great scholars and publish them as completely as possible in carefully edited editions. It is not difficult for western scholars to appreciate the value of this literature when they realize that in these collected writings are contained every dispatch, memorial, preface, important letter, or obituary written by the scholars, many of whom held high administrative offices. The history of Chinese civilization, when it is finally prepared for us by critical research along the lines of the best western historical work, will draw largely on these collected writings of Chinese scholars as basic material.

Poetry, likewise, has an enviable record in China of splendid works by men of transcendent ability, and no class of literary works has been more carefully edited or more beautifully printed than the collected writings of the great poets from the T'ang Dynasty down to the present century.

Philosophy has always held a high position in China and Chinese philosophers have had a very important influence on the development of Chinese civilization. Confucius was preceded and followed by a group of outstanding thinkers such as Lao Tzu, Mo Tzu, and others whose doctrines survive to the present day. Philosophy in China did not become extinct with the downfall of feudalism in 221 B.C., but continued to be a healthy branch of Chinese intellectual activity up to and including the present day, as there are several philosophical writers of distinction living in China today.

There seems to be only one important field in which China's literary publications are conspicuously less noteworthy than in the West. This is the Chinese novel, which has never, until very recently, been recognized by the Chinese as entitled to recognition as serious literature. The great novels of China have been considered by the Chinese as portraying weaknesses or defects in human character and consequently have been considered unsuitable to put into the hands of young people and as of doubtful moral standing.

Use of Chinese Books in the Western World. Finally we come to the age-old question, *cui bono?* Granted that the Chinese have many and valuable books that they esteem very highly, of what significance are they to us?

That such a question is raised at all is, in effect, a confession of prejudice and false pride, a tacit assumption that we alone have records and books that are worth while. Even if we grant this highly improbable premise there still remains the fact that these books contain the record of unparalleled completeness of the oldest and most distinct civilization still existing in the world, and the fact that these books profoundly affect the lives and actions of at least a third of the human race. From this standpoint alone we, as China's nearest neighbors among the western peoples, could easily justify giving vastly more attention than we now do to the literature of the Chinese in order to understand them better and thereby be better prepared to live peaceably with them.

As a matter of fact, even if we begin our study of Chinese books from this standpoint we will soon be impressed with their intrinsic value and like fools come to scoff, remain to pray. It goes without saying that one of the best ways to learn about the Chinese is to use the methods they themselves have used for ages with such good results, namely, to study the records of their illustrious past. These records, fortunately, are still obtainable and, furthermore, it is still possible to se-

cure the assistance in interpreting them of properly qualified old-style Chinese scholars, steeped in the lore of past ages and able to supply from tradition what the printed word neglects to mention as being a matter of common knowledge, at least to the Chinese.

One of the first things any careful student of China and the Chinese comes to learn is that here in this favored corner of the world developed a truly permanent civilization in striking contrast to the great civilizations of the West.

To judge from their pessimistic prognostications, our philosophers, sociologists, and geneticists are by no means sure of the permanence of our own culture, and we might well study attentively the most permanent culture that ever arose in the world.

Doubtless one of the reasons for the permanency of the Chinese civilization is the essential reasonableness of the Chinese people and their ability to learn from experience and to retain and profit by the lessons so learned. In everything that touches human life the open-eyed western student of China is impressed with the astonishing wealth of orderly utilized experience, experience that transcends the life of the individual or his generation, that is in fact the experience of the race!

The Chinese, contrary to the belief widely prevalent in western countries, are a highly original and ingenious people that have made significant discoveries and inventions in every field of human endeavor. The fact is that the Chinese records have not been used in the right way to secure adequate evidence to establish their priority in the many epoch-making discoveries to their credit. Unfortunately the proof for the Chinese origin of many inventions now used by the whole world is often faulty and incomplete, amounting in many cases to mere tradition. However, the proper utilization of an adequate collection of Chinese books, helped out by studies

on the spot, by reference to family records and to local gazetteers, and by other evidence, is bringing strong proof of the validity of the claims of the Chinese to discoveries that at first seemed to belong to other peoples. No field of research in the study of Chinese civilization is more likely to yield results of unexpected and far-reaching consequence than this.

Already it is clear that the Chinese invented paper, printer's ink, and all phases of the printer's art as has been noted elsewhere. Silk and most of the fabrics made from it are of course credited by everybody to the Chinese, as is the invention of gunpowder and of the mariner's compass. The very name "China" shows that we recognize the origin of the glazed porcelain that serves us at our tables and adorns our cabinets. It is possible that the so-called "Arabic" numerals, now used the world over, were originated by the Chinese and not by the Hindus. Portrait painting seems to have been a Chinese art long before it was appreciated in the West and indeed long before western peoples appreciated the beauties of inanimate nature. In agriculture the Chinese have distanced all other peoples in finding crops adapted to every type of soil; where we drain land they plant crops adapted to wet soils; where we lime the soil they plant acid-soil crops! They seem to have been the first to write monographic studies on flowers, fruits, grains, tea, and a host of other plants. They attained great skill ages ago in diagnosing diseases and in curing diseases by complex balanced drugs. We are only now beginning to appreciate, since we have adopted ephedrine and chaulmoogra oil derivatives, that Chinese drugs are not necessarily quack remedies of no medicinal value. More than sixteen hundred years ago Chi Han, in his *Nan fang ts'ao mu chuang,* the oldest Chinese botanical treatise extant, gave a striking instance of the so-called biologic control of insect pests of crop plants by colonizing fruit trees with

voracious stinging ants that drove all other insect pests away. Only a few years ago I had the good fortune to assist from afar in the discovery of a village in south China where these ants were still grown and sold to the orange farmers, just as described ages ago in accounts not before given credence in western countries. The drilling of deep wells mechanically with an iron percussion drill seems to be a Chinese invention, and such wells are known to be sunk with great skill in remote parts of China. Three of the greatest recent discoveries in naval engineering, the use of water-tight compartments, the balanced rudder, and the wave-resisting superstructure are, I am informed by a naval engineer, found on every sea-going junk and have been used for ages! The horizontal windmill, often a very large and powerful engine in China, seems never to have been credited to the Chinese. The recovery of zinc from its ores is said to have been a monopoly of the Chinese until finally European mining engineers went to China and learned the Chinese methods. Fireworks of a startling complexity, unequaled in the West, call our attention to the fact that fireworks are a Chinese discovery, and that one of the chief uses of gunpowder by the Chinese is for fireworks rather than for firearms. In foods we have everything to learn from the Chinese who support life on one cent a day and have worked out by centuries of experience tasty, digestible, and nourishing dietaries of ridiculously low cost. They have discovered literally scores of highly nutritious and extremely tasty preparations made from the soy bean such as milk, curd, cottage cheese, fermented cheese, sauces like the famous soy sauce—in fact a whole shop full of products—while we are barely able to utilize the soy bean for human food and, in fact, usually do not use it for human food at all.

These and hundreds more of important discoveries of the human mind working through the ages are to be found in

China. Does it not seem well worth the effort, while this ancient civilization still exists, to see for ourselves what they have found that is of value for us, especially since by giving them due credit for their discoveries, we benefit them and ourselves by creating a new and stable basis for esteem where at present prejudice, based on ignorance for the most part, rules supreme?

Still more important are the psychological and social discoveries of the Chinese people. They have learned to take a remarkably hopeful point of view in spite of a pressure of population that often seems to render all hope illusive. They surpass all the world in their treatment of old people and in their organization of family life. What we need is not the assurance, by someone who in reality knows next to nothing about it, that their family life is badly arranged and their treatment of their ageing parents foolish and uneconomic; what we need and should want is a critical unprejudiced study of such matters by persons of sufficiently thorough training and sufficiently broad sympathies to be able to see and weigh new ideas and new methods of living without automatically deciding that because these ideas and these methods of living are new and strange to us they are *ipso facto* wrong or even sinful!

Examination System. The old-style examination system, the basis of a remarkable civil service that insured an enlightened democratic system of government by an aristocracy of talent recruited from all ranks of society, avoided the dangers of hereditary nobility on the one hand, and the equally great dangers of demagoguery on the other. The Chinese examination system established in the year 606 A.D. persisted as the basis of all higher appointments to office for thirteen centuries right up to the first decade of the twentieth century. It carried out Napoleon's doctrine of *carrière ouverte au talent* systematically and put not merely a marshal's baton

in the knapsack of every soldier, but gave every Chinese, no matter how humble his status, the hope that his son might pass the examinations and become the honored guest of the emperor and one of his advisers. It must always be remembered that the competition in such examinations was so intense as to eliminate all but men of great natural ability, what the Chinese call superior men, and that all who passed the final examinations—some three hundred every three years—an average of only one hundred a year in a population of more than three hundred millions—were not merely put on a waiting list; they were at once appointed to positions of importance and attained a social and official status comparable only with the highest nobles of a European monarchy.

What a world lies open to us if only we have the sense to study while it can still be studied and to study with an open mind and a sympathetic heart!

Dr. Putnam the Builder of the Greatest Chinese Library in the Western World. This country is indeed fortunate in having as the head of its greatest library a man of such profound understanding and unsurpassed energy as Dr. Herbert Putnam. Under his enlightened administration the Library of Congress has become a true national library and even more; through the creation of the Library of Congress Trust Fund Board less than four years ago, it is now unique among the national libraries of the world in having, as flexible coöperating adjuncts, endowed research agencies that already carry endowments and grants of funds for current expenditures large enough to insure for all time the energetic and efficient research along the lines of work for which chairs have been established.

It is not surprising that a man of the vision and foresight of Dr. Putnam realized far in advance of his brother librarians in this country the great significance of Chinese books as a record of a great, ancient, and original civilization.

Thanks to his active interest and in the face of many difficulties he has been able, in the short space of fifteen years, to raise the Chinese collection of the Library of Congress to the first rank of all the libraries in the western world, in spite of the fact that several of the leading Old World libraries have been collecting Chinese books for more than a century.

It has been my privilege to assist Dr. Putnam to bring together Chinese books, both old and new, in every department of Chinese literature until the Chinese collection of the Library of Congress rose to its present impressive size—with the Wang Family library, now well over 125,000 volumes—and until it was housed in the best arranged, best lighted, and most impressive quarters of any Chinese library in the world, with an expert staff under the competent leadership of Mr. Arthur W. Hummel.

All that remains to do to insure that this great Chinese library, and the rich Japanese and Korean collections housed alongside, be utilized to the full as a great center of research to interpret to our people the rich heritage of the culture of China, is to create under the Library of Congress Trust Fund a sufficient endowment to insure the active and efficient utilization of these books which are the best and most trustworthy records of the attainments, the aspirations, and the hopes of the Chinese people. Who can doubt that this will soon be provided by some of the many friends of the Chinese among our people?

NOTES ET IMPRESSIONS SUR LES BIBLIOTHÈQUES D'AMÉRIQUE

PAR EUGÈNE TISSERANT

C'EST à la Dotation Carnegie pour la Paix Internationale (*Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*) que je dois d'avoir passé quatre-vingts jours en Amérique au printemps de 1927. Ayant décidé d'aider la Bibliothèque Vaticane dans son effort pour rendre plus accessibles aux savants de tous les pays ses inestimables collections, les Trustees de la Dotation, sur le rapport de leur expert, pensèrent qu'il fallait avant tout procurer à un représentant de la bibliothèque le moyen d'étudier sur place les méthodes suivies dans les bibliothèques américaines. Avant de commencer une collaboration, ne faut-il pas d'abord acquérir un langage commun, s'entendre sur la signification des termes, avoir une vision exacte des réalités qu'ils couvrent?

Or, je dois avouer qu'au moment où je montais sur le *Mauretania,* le 25 avril 1927, mes informations sur les principaux dépôts de livres d'Outre-Atlantique formaient un mince bagage. Familier avec plusieurs des principales bibliothèques d'Europe, j'avais négligé de me documenter sur des institutions, dont je me croyais bien sûr de ne jamais franchir le seuil. Ma seule initiation fut donc de lire pendant la traversée quelques-uns des rapports publiés par des bibliothécaires européens ayant participé l'année précédente à la conférence jubilaire de l'*American Library Association.*

Mais le jour même du débarquement je visitai les trois bibliothèques les plus caractéristiques de New York et pus dès lors classer mes observations suivant trois types fondamentaux: bibliothèques municipales, bibliothèques universitaires, bibliothèques de collectionneurs.

La *Public Library* de New York a les proportions d'une bibliothèque nationale, elle n'en conserve pas moins les caractéristiques d'une bibliothèque municipale, qui, en plus de sa vie propre, fonctionne comme centre de nombreuses succursales de quartier. J'y admire pour la première fois l'organisation, la machinerie, que je vais retrouver partout au cours de mon voyage, plus ou moins développée suivant les ressources ou les buts spéciaux des instituts visités: les services des accessions, du catalogue, du prêt; les magasins de faible hauteur aux pavements de marbre blanc, ventilés, éclairés, reluisants de propreté, desservis par des monte-charges et des transporteurs horizontaux; les salles agréables et confortables, parfois luxueuses, largement ouvertes à tous, mais adaptées aux diverses catégories de lecteurs, de celles où les enfants complètent par des lectures divertissantes l'instruction reçue à l'école jusqu'à celle où les amateurs des études orientales ont à la portée de la main une série de livres à rendre jaloux bien des instituts spéciaux.

A l'Université *Columbia,* je trouve le problème qui divise trop souvent bibliothécaires et professeurs: bibliothèque centrale ou bibliothèques de sections, c'est-à-dire: faut-il constituer plus fortement le noyau commun ou décentraliser largement? Mais ce problème se trouve aussi en Europe. Ce qui est tout à fait nouveau pour moi, c'est l'école de bibliothéconomie (*Library Science*), institution nettement américaine, à laquelle les Etats-Unis doivent de posséder un corps de bibliothécaires préparés directement à leurs fonctions.

Je termine cette première journée à la *J. P. Morgan Library,* et c'est une joie, après tant de visions nouvelles, d'y retrouver du déjà connu, ces manuscrits coptes de Hamouli, qui ont été restaurés sous mes yeux dans l'atelier du Vatican. La bibliothèque Morgan peut être considérée comme le modèle de ces bibliothèques-sanctuaires, où l'on n'abrite que des trésors; mais ce qui me frappe au moins autant que sa

richesse c'est la libéralité avec laquelle elle est ouverte à quiconque peut y travailler utilement.

L'itinéraire, qui m'avait été tracé, plaçait Washington au début de mon séjour, non toutefois sans quelques étapes. Princeton m'offrait, dans son merveilleux cadre de riante campagne, sa bibliothèque universitaire. La portion centrale en est installée dans un bâtiment modeste et qui date déjà, —les constructions vieillissent plus vite en pays neuf,—mais les alcôves de cet octogone sont de délicieuses chapelles, si l'on sait regarder les titres des livres. Je n'ai guère, il est vrai, le temps de m'y arrêter, mon but étant surtout d'étudier des méthodes; je les quitte pour m'initier au contrôle des revues et séries sur les fiches articulées du système Kardex. Puis à l'école d'art et d'archéologie, au mobilier moderne, j'admire le fichier documentaire où sont disséqués sous les rubriques les plus variées, en vue d'études comparatives, les monuments artistiques de l'antiquité chrétienne.

A Philadelphie, autre bibliothèque universitaire, puis, dans le même genre, la bibliothèque d'un institut spécial, le *Dropsie College;* une bibliothèque qui participe du dépôt d'archives et du musée, celle de la *Historical Society of Pennsylvania;* enfin la nouvelle *Free Library*. C'est le triomphe du métal, car les sièges eux-mêmes sont métalliques, d'acier pour les adultes, en alliage d'aluminium pour les enfants . . . ; et c'est aussi le dernier cri du mécanisme, ainsi que je pourrai m'en rendre compte à une deuxième visite quelques semaines plus tard: bureaux à couvercle de cristal pour l'étude des estampes, télétype pour transmettre dans les magasins les demandes des lecteurs, plans inclinés hélicoïdaux pour renvoyer à leurs étages les livres lus; enfin pour l'arrivée des volumes aux salles de lecture, la plus savante combinaison d'un transporteur incliné, puis horizontal, aboutissant à des monte-charges, qui partent automatiquement aussitôt chargés. Tout a été étudié dans le détail pour le confort maximum

des lecteurs, et des lecteurs de toutes catégories, comme on peut en attendre dans une bibliothèque municipale, y compris les chercheurs, qui pourront y poursuivre des travaux de longue haleine dans d'excellentes chambres particulières. J'observe cependant que l'étalement du fichier dans une longue galerie, s'il permet d'avoir toutes les fiches à bonne hauteur, occasionne pour le lecteur, en marches et contremarches, une assez sérieuse perte de temps.

Johns Hopkins University m'attire d'abord à Baltimore. La disposition de la bibliothèque y est remarquable: au centre sont les salles de travail, salle générale et pour la lecture des périodiques au rez-de-chaussée, salles des spécialités pour les *undergraduates* aux différents étages; puis, de chaque côté de ces salles, les magasins accessibles aux *graduates,* qui peuvent s'y installer pour travailler et y réserver leurs livres; enfin, autour de ce bloc, dont elles sont séparées par un corridor circulaire, les chambres de travail des professeurs et les salles des séminaires, réparties de telle sorte que chaque professeur soit aussi proche que possible des livres de sa spécialité. Une seule entrée pour les salles destinées aux étudiants permet de contrôler facilement leurs allées et venues. Ceci vu, pour ne pas oublier ma qualité d'orientaliste, je fais un pèlerinage aux manuscrits orientaux de M. Robert Garrett. Je reconnais entre ses mains un volume grec, palpé autrefois dans l'arrière-boutique d'un marchand athénien; quel contraste entre le misérable réduit où je l'ai vu alors et le solide coffre-fort de l'accueillant Mécène, qui me fait les honneurs de sa collection!

C'est un samedi que j'arrive à Washington, au début de l'après-midi. J'aurais pu craindre que cette heure fût inopportune pour me présenter à la *Library of Congress;* mais un mot de M. Herbert Putnam m'attend au *Cosmos Club,* dont il a obtenu que je sois l'hôte. Un concert de musique de chambre a lieu à 4 heures dans l'auditorium de la bibliothèque et

le maître de la maison m'y a réservé une place. Voilà une invitation qui surprendrait beaucoup d'habitués de la Bibliothèque Vaticane, de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris ou du British Museum, mais je commence à comprendre que le rôle éducatif des bibliothèques est multiforme et je ne m'étonne plus de voir, à côté des magasins où sont contenues les partitions musicales, des cellules pourvues de pianos où les musiciens peuvent en essayer l'exécution.

Comment résumer les impressions que m'a laissées la *Library of Congress* et les enseignements que j'y ai reçus? Grâce à l'accueil empressé de M. Herbert Putnam, grâce à la bienveillance inlassable de tous ses collaborateurs, j'ai pu, pendant les deux semaines de mon séjour à Washington, visiter en détail tous les services et demander partout, sans craindre d'être importun, les innombrables explications dont mon inexpérience avait besoin. Comme il était facile d'ailleurs d'aborder dans leurs sections les chefs des différents services, après avoir participé avec eux aux charmantes réunions à l'heure du lunch autour de cette *Round Table,* dont l'intimité est si favorable au bon fonctionnement de la bibliothèque! Aussi à quoi ne me suis-je pas intéressé en ces journées trop courtes? Accession des livres par achats, dons, dépôt légal; classification, catalogue, numérotation, étiquetage, impression et mise en vente des fiches. Et encore: magasinage des livres, chauffage, ventilation; distribution et moyens de transport; traitement spécial des estampes, expositions, présentation au public des journaux et autres périodiques, service spécial des membres du parlement, etc., etc. J'ai compris alors qu'il faut avoir examiné de près la vie et les catalogues d'une telle bibliothèque pour saisir certains problèmes, parce que les questions changent souvent de face lorsque le nombre intervient.

La circonstance du nombre provoque encore des solutions intéressantes dans deux autres bibliothèques de Washington,

celle du *Surgeon General* avec son énorme collection de publications médicales et celle du *Department of Agriculture*, constituée elle aussi par un fonds considérable, ayant en outre une nombreuse section de périodiques avec un programme de circulation très compliqué.

A côté de ces institutions d'Etat, je trouvai encore beaucoup à voir: c'est ainsi qu'à l'Université catholique (*Catholic University of America*) j'ai pu examiner la construction du nouveau bâtiment en cours d'exécution, tandis qu'à *Georgetown University* je m'arrêtai aux souvenirs des premiers missionnaires d'Amérique. Enfin à la *Freer Gallery,* il m'était donné de contempler les précieux manuscrits et papyri, qui ont rendu fameux le nom de leur propriétaire dans le monde des biblistes.

Doté par mon séjour à la *Library of Congress* d'une initiation globale, si hâtive qu'elle fût, je pouvais dès lors organiser un peu différemment mes visites: après avoir examiné les bâtiments et la disposition matérielle, qui ont en chaque bibliothèque des caractéristiques individuelles, je pouvais interroger et concentrer mon attention sur ce qui s'écartait, dans les services, de la pratique observée à Washington. A la *Carnegie Library* de Pittsburgh, par exemple, j'ai examiné en particulier l'installation des collections de brevets industriels, les instructions pour l'emploi des catalogues insérées sur fiches dans le catalogue lui-même, la méthode d'utilisation des coupures de journaux.

Ann Arbor me fournit ensuite pendant un arrêt d'une semaine l'occasion d'étudier le fonctionnement d'une bibliothèque universitaire, très fréquentée par les étudiants. Or, si le grand nombre des livres change la face de certains problèmes, le grand nombre de lecteurs n'influe pas moins sur d'autres questions. Beaucoup d'étudiants à l'*University of Michigan* passent à la bibliothèque une grande partie du temps entre les cours. Ils arrivent par masses et partent de

même, le plus souvent après un arrêt d'une heure, parfois moins. Aussi la rapidité des communications a-t-elle été l'objet d'une attention spéciale: les demandes sont transmises dans les magasins par le télautographe plus rapide que le tube pneumatique et le temps qui s'écoule entre la demande et la distribution des volumes est contrôlé par l'apposition d'un timbre horaire sur les fiches de demande, ce qui permet des statistiques précises et les améliorations du service suggérées par l'étude de ces statistiques. Le nombre des lecteurs, professeurs et gradués, admis dans les magasins est très élevé: c'est une complication pour le service, mais un avantage inappréciable pour les chercheurs. Comme il est agréable de jouir d'un bureau, voisin d'une fenêtre, à l'extrémité du rayon même où sont les livres relatifs au sujet étudié! A la bibliothèque d'Ann Arbor, le catalogue est groupé sur un très petit espace, tout proche du banc de distribution; et, si l'on a renoncé pour le bâtiment au style monumental, qui, même en Amérique, nuit parfois à la commodité, pour se contenter d'une noble sobriété, c'est un gros bénéfice pour les lecteurs. A l'ombre de la bibliothèque universitaire, la *Clements Library* hospitalise dans ses salles élégantes une admirable série de documents et livres rares relatifs à l'Amérique.

Detroit: ville enfiévrée de sa croissance hâtive, peut se vanter de la manière dont les livres sont mis à la disposition de sa population, car des bibliothèques de quartier s'y ouvrent d'année en année dans les diverses directions, suivant les développements de l'agglomération urbaine. La leçon de Detroit, c'est avant tout l'essor de la vie américaine, débordante d'initiative et d'audace, et ce me fut expliqué avec beaucoup d'humour dès mon arrivée à la bibliothèque; mais je n'en goûtai que mieux ensuite la beauté et la commodité du bâtiment central ainsi que les excellents aménagements des deux succursales les plus récentes.

J'arrivai à Chicago un dimanche matin et avais déjà pris

contact avec l'énorme cité lorsque je me présentai le lendemain matin au centre de l'*American Library Association*. Etait-ce la succursale d'un ministère ou le bureau d'une grande maison de commerce, cette salle toute bourdonnante du bruit des machines à écrire où je m'avançais un peu timide? Combien différente en tout cas de ce que serait en Europe le centre d'une association de bibliothécaires! Pour loger cette activité multiforme, il ne nous faudrait pas moins de dix à quinze chambres au lieu de cette pièce unique, que le secrétaire de l'Association ou son assistante embrassent d'un seul coup d'œil sans même sortir de leurs bureaux particuliers. Salle unique permettant des relations rapides entre les différents services, travail divisé cependant, où chacun ayant une seule classe d'affaires à traiter peut les suivre dans le détail et devenir ainsi pour la direction un collaborateur compétent. Je ne pus tout apprendre en cette première visite sur l'œuvre accomplie par l'*A.L.A.*, mais la conférence annuelle, à laquelle j'assistai quelques semaines plus tard me fit connaître ce qu'est leur association pour les bibliothécaires américains.

L'immeuble de quinze étages, où vivent les services de l'*A.L.A.*, est une bibliothèque publique. La *John Crerar Library*, fondée pour mettre à la disposition du monde d'affaires chicagoain une abondante documentation scientifique, est née lorsque le terrain coûtait déjà fort cher à l'intérieur et dans les environs immédiats de la "Boucle." Le remède à la cherté du terrain, c'est le gratte-ciel; ce genre de bâtiment, quoiqu'il puisse sembler à première vue, n'est pas incompatible avec le service d'une bibliothèque publique, du moins aux Etats-Unis, où, comme le disait un bibliothécaire anglais au congrès de Toronto, "l'ascenseur fait partie de la constitution." Les salles de lecture occupent les trois étages supérieurs, qui sont à tout point de vue les plus agréables, et les magasins se développent au-dessous, envahissant au fur et

à mesure de l'accroissement des collections, les locaux retirés peu à peu aux autres occupants de l'immeuble. La *Newberry Library,* comme la précédente, est une fondation privée; entourée de rues plus tranquilles que Michigan Avenue, elle s'est spécialisée dans la littérature et l'histoire. J'y note un répertoire généalogique des familles américaines, continuellement tenu à jour par le dépouillement des nouvelles publications, deux collections documentaires sur les Indiens de l'Amérique du Nord et les indigènes des Philippines, une précieuse série des éditions de Ptolémée.

La *Public Library* rappelle assez celle de New York; le souci d'atteindre une clientèle extrêmement cosmopolite m'y frappe particulièrement. Les bibliothécaires jouent un rôle capital dans l'éducation des adultes: en conseillant les lecteurs d'origine étrangère ils peuvent beaucoup pour faciliter leur assimilation. Deux importantes bibliothèques universitaires s'ajoutent à ces trois grands dépôts, celle de l'*University of Chicago* et celle de la *Northwestern University* dans la ville contiguë d'Evanston. Cette dernière est disposée commodément dans des constructions récentes; mais la première, où la place donnée aux bibliothèques spéciales est considérable, a sa portion centrale logée de façon incommode. Le désir de construire dans le style oxfordien a conduit à créer une longue façade, de style gothique, derrière laquelle se développe un bâtiment étroit, traversé par un long corridor et divisé en petites chambres, où les services sont isolés les uns des autres, distants en outre des magasins qui s'allongent dans deux étages en sous-sol. Au séminaire de Notre-Dame du Lac, je fus pour quelques instants en pays de connaissance, entre les livres d'une bibliothèque ecclésiastique romaine et les autographes de papes et autres personnages religieux collectionnés par le cardinal Mundelein; à Evanston, au contraire, c'était pure Amérique chez M. Mason, possesseur d'une importante série de *Frankliniana,* imprimés et manuscrits.

La brièveté du temps que j'avais à passer en Amérique ne me permettait pas de poursuivre davantage vers l'ouest; je me contentai donc de visiter à Notre-Dame, Indiana, la collection dantesque réunie par le P. Zahm, et d'admirer à Urbana la bibliothèque de l'*University of Illinois*. Bâtiments simples au dehors, plus riches à l'intérieur, qui rappellent ceux d'Ann Arbor, en plus grand toutefois, peut-être en trop grand pour l'économie de la circulation. La bibliothèque, bien dotée, s'accroît rapidement, mais l'architecte a prévu dix tranches d'extension, ce qui permet au bibliothécaire d'envisager tranquillement l'avenir.

Cleveland est la première étape sur la voie du retour. Sa bibliothèque municipale est justement réputée: sous une direction et une administration presque complètement féminine, bibliothèque centrale et succursales de quartiers manifestent une activité surprenante. De 10 heures du matin à 10 heures du soir on sut m'y occuper sans répit, en m'invitant pour finir à la séance solennelle ou "Commencement" de l'école de bibliothéconomie de *Western Reserve University* et au dîner annuel des Alumnæ, où jamais n'avait été vu un bibliothécaire du Vatican.

Buffalo a deux bibliothèques municipales, dont une de fondation privée, la *Grosvenor Library;* au jour de mon passage elles invitaient collectivement la population par la voie des journaux à se pourvoir de livres pour les vacances, promettant à tous des facilités spéciales. Ces vacances malheureusement allaient me priver d'une partie de l'intérêt que présente la visite des bibliothèques universitaires et je le constatai dès Ithaca, où l'on procédait au nettoyage annuel de la bibliothèque de *Cornell University*.

Mais aussi les vacances permettaient aux bibliothécaires de se réunir et je fus des deux mille qui se trouvèrent à Toronto du 20 au 25 juin. Ici encore je fis l'expérience du nombre, car après avoir vu dans leurs services beaucoup de bibliothécaires,

il était suggestif de les retrouver en masse. Dès le passage au bureau d'arrivée, je note à un détail l'esprit pratique de l'Amérique: la petite pièce de laiton doré que tous les congressistes vont porter comme insigne est percée d'une petite fenêtre dans le fond de laquelle apparaît, dactylographié sur un petit morceau de bristol, le nom du sociétaire et celui de sa ville. Voilà qui pourra simplifier les présentations. Quel bon souvenir je garde de ces auditoires de bibliothécaires, vibrants dans les réunions générales, attentifs aux discussions dans les séances de sections, en toute occasion manifestant la plus grande estime de leur profession et une haute conscience de leur devoir vis-à-vis du public!

Aucune des bibliothèques canadiennes ne peut rivaliser avec les très grandes bibliothèques de l'état voisin, peut-être parce qu'elles n'ont pas trouvé autant de Mécènes; pourtant les deux bibliothèques de Toronto font bonne figure et la bibliothèque Saint-Sulpice de Montréal a une organisation toute moderne. Celle de l'Université Laval à Québec est restée "Vieille-France" avec ses armoires fermées de portes vitrées, mais son fonds ancien semble excellent.

Boston s'enorgueillit d'avoir la plus ancienne bibliothèque municipale d'Amérique: le soin avec lequel les Bostoniens ont fait décorer le bâtiment actuel par Puvis de Chavannes et John Sargent démontre leur goût et leur amour pour leur bibliothèque. Mais l'ancienneté de cette institution la sépare des autres bibliothèques américaines: elle a conservé un système de classification antérieur à Dewey et au schéma de la *Library of Congress*. Il en va de même à *Harvard University,* dont la bibliothèque, la plus riche, si je ne me trompe, des bibliothèques universitaires du monde, est somptueusement installée dans le *Widener Memorial.*

Providence a une bibliothèque universitaire, mais ce sont deux bibliothèques de collectionneurs qui m'y attirent, la *John Carter Brown Library,* magnifique dépôt d'Americana,

et l'*Annmary Brown Library,* qui contient une précieuse et curieuse collection d'incunables, limitée par ses fondateurs au premier livre imprimé de chacune des villes où l'on imprima avant 1500. New Haven, enfin, dernière étape avant New York, promet de surpasser toutes les autres bibliothèques universitaires par la splendeur de son nouveau bâtiment, la *Sterling Library,* à laquelle est destinée une somme de 7.500.000 dollars. L'étude des plans, puisque le bâtiment n'était pas encore commencé, fut du moins très intéressante et instructive.

Une nouvelle visite aux bibliothèques déjà vues à New York, un coup d'œil à celles de la *Geographical Society* et du *Jewish Seminary,* qui possède un des fonds les plus importants de manuscrits et d'imprimés hébreux, une autre visite à la *Free Library* de Philadelphie, terminée et déjà en plein fonctionnement, furent la conclusion de ce voyage.

"Dépôt de livres," ai-je écrit au début de ces notes en parlant des bibliothèques américaines. Combien cette expression correspondait peu à ma pensée lorsque je m'embarquai à New York le 19 juillet! Si diverses que soient les bibliothèques américaines,—bibliothèque du Congrès, créée pour les besoins des membres du parlement et devenue bibliothèque centrale de la nation; bibliothèques municipales dont le personnel s'efforce dans une saine émulation de répandre l'instruction dans le peuple pour élever toujours davantage son niveau intellectuel et moral; bibliothèques universitaires, dont les bibliothécaires s'ingénient à préparer aux professeurs et élèves le meilleur arsenal possible d'instruments de recherche et d'instruction; bibliothèques de collectionneurs, qui, formées par des amateurs éclairés, sont mises presque toujours du vivant de ceux-ci à la disposition des spécialistes et qui continuent à s'accroître dans la même spécialité grâce à de généreuses fondations,—toutes m'apparaissent dominées par ce principe de finalité qui domine toute l'organisation

américaine. S'il y a en Europe tant de bibliothèques mortes, dont s'enorgueillissent d'ailleurs collectionneurs, instituts et cités, c'est qu'on y considère trop souvent les livres sans le souci direct de leur utilité. En Amérique, la perspective du bibliothécaire rencontre d'abord le lecteur avant d'arriver au livre. De là vient cette extension du prêt entre bibliothèques et à domicile, qui nous surprend; de là, cette politique de l'*open shelf,* des rayons accessibles à une proportion énorme de lecteurs, sinon à tous, et dont les enfants mêmes font l'apprentissage; de là, ce développement donné au catalogue encyclopédique (*dictionary catalogue*), lequel ne permet pas seulement de retrouver un livre connu, mais suggère au lecteur des séries de titres; de là, cette préoccupation constante du progrès, du meilleur rendement, car il faut que le capital investi dans les bibliothèques fructifie, lui aussi, mais noblement, en instruction répandue.

J'étais allé en Amérique pour étudier les méthodes des bibliothécaires américains, et ils m'ont appris beaucoup, mais en outre ils m'ont fait participer à l'esprit qui les anime; et il m'est agréable de le dire en m'unissant à eux pour fêter M. Herbert Putnam, dont la longue direction à la *Library of Congress* a eu une part capitale dans la marche en avant des bibliothèques américaines.

Rome, Thanksgiving Day, 1928

LIBRARY EXTENSION

A BASIC FACTOR IN ADEQUATE BOOK SERVICE

BY ALICE S. TYLER

LIBRARY extension is an essential part of the developing program for increasing book service in America. The widening conception of the place of books and reading in the life of a nation, and the constructive interest of all book agencies in the opportunities and responsibilities of book service in a democracy are giving a marked impetus to the reading of books. The widespread reading of newspapers and magazines in recent years has to a large degree overshadowed the reading of books, but there are many indications that books are now having a larger place in the life of the people. In this effort toward bringing books into the life and thought of people, the American public library is active and effective, and is leading the way in many of the methods and means of arousing interest in the world of books and stimulating intellectual curiosity. The motives of interest and timeliness are as important factors in the book world as in the commercial world, and, as never before, books are being made real factors in the life of today.

The gratifying unity with which authors, publishers, booksellers, and librarians are approaching the task, common to all of them, will undoubtedly bring results. Seeking to enlist more people in the use of books, arousing a desire to read, and revealing the joys and recompense that come with entrance into the world of thought and ideas through the printed page give much hope for the future. The fundamental concept, that by a widespread interest in reading and a knowledge of the movements and current thought of the present and a reasonable comprehension of our inheritance from the past we

can be stimulated to become thoughtful citizens, is recognized as a common incentive to all book agencies for a forward program.

In library extension the librarian is seeking to develop an enlarged book service. The institution which the community provides for its own growth and supports by taxation—the public library—has developed methods for accomplishing this which will vary as the service develops, and as our conceptions enlarge. The present conception of library extension is to make easily accessible to all communities, city and country, adequate book service as an educational right and opportunity, both for groups and individuals. Library service promotes the joy of books for inspiration and mental stimulus as well as for fact and information. Such service must be a part of the fiber or pattern of a democracy in order that it may intelligently govern itself. We may not have a very distinct concept of the exact type of culture or intelligence which may be developed by such service, but there is every reason to believe that through reading a stimulated and informed intelligence may be cultivated, which is a requisite of present-day civilization.

While no one is prepared to dogmatize as to what constitutes civilization, we have been reminded by a recent book[1] that there are two parent qualities of civilization which may be recognized in the study of any so-called "high" civilization, viz., (1) a sense of values, and (2) enthroning of reason as the ultimate arbiter in questions of fact. If such qualities are accepted as desirable in any advanced state of society, certain requisites must be sought to bring these about. They do not come by chance, and the provision of the sources of inspiration and information as found in books would seem to be one of the important requisites for acquiring a sense of values and for giving a basis and breadth to our latent rea-

1. Clive Bell, *Civilization*, 1928.

soning faculties. Indeed, in a democracy there must of necessity be a supreme effort to make quickly available the reservoirs of knowledge upon which all may easily draw if the things of the mind are to have any significance. The whole project of general intelligence through reading is closely allied with the program of popular education; in fact is based upon the great experiment of *compulsory* attendance at school and hence upon the literacy of the American people. People *can* read, but *do* they read? And if so, *what* do they read? I quote from the chapter by Everett Dean Martin in the recent book, *Whither Mankind:*

> The considerations which led our predecessors to attempt universal education and today justify the enormous expense of the enterprise are the commonplace of contemporary thought. Is not every child entitled to his share in our cultural heritage? Society owes it to all its members to equip them to perform the tasks which it will require of them. Popular education is the best safeguard of democratic institutions. Industry has need of trained men and women. Moreover since training is of advantage to the individual in the struggle for preferment and personal advancement, the democratic dogma of equal opportunity requires that the state extend educational opportunity to all. We like to believe that in our civilization any youth, however poor, may "get an education if he really desires it," and that, once he has it, his humble origin is no barrier to him. He may rise to any position and move in any circles to which ambition may inspire him and to which his ability and industry may entitle him. Thus universal education at once asserts that equality of opportunity demanded by democracy and justifies the inequalities of competitive industrialism. All the arguments are in favor of the widest possible extension of education.

Another angle of this question, which is distinctly the library point of view, is the great significance of the *voluntary* approach in the educational program of the public library. There is no compulsion to enter the "open door" of the public library, but the invitation to all to participate in the joys and advantages of the printed page is cordial and constant.

Such a voluntary approach to the resources of a library makes for an attitude of mind which is an important factor to be recognized by psychologists as a significant part of the psychology of reading. Not only is this the position of the modern public library, but the entire library movement in America is actively committed to extending to everyone the opportunities and advantages of the open door and the open book and to providing communities which are without such opportunities with the means of securing them. In many cases the American Library Association, which is one of the active agencies for library extension, can do little more than advise regarding the steps to be taken by communities to secure library advantages. Like the public schools, the public library is dependent upon state leadership for adequate library support through the enactment of library laws, and not upon federal legislation. The federal government has, however, done much to foster and develop library facilities. In fact, the attitude of the United States Bureau of Education in the earlier years in gathering information and statistics regarding library conditions, and in publishing the great *United States Bureau of Education Report* in 1876, is recognized as truly epoch making and progress from that date was made possible. In more recent years, and at the present time, the magnificent accomplishments and generous leadership of the Library of Congress, under Dr. Herbert Putnam, have not only placed our national library among the great libraries of the world, but through the original and practical development of the printed catalogue card, made available to all the libraries at a nominal cost, have given an impetus to library development and service in this country which cannot be measured. Indeed, library extension owes much to the Library of Congress for its practical service in making books quickly available by means of good catalogues. Furthermore,

the generous service rendered to smaller libraries by the inter-library loans made by the Library of Congress to other libraries has given to serious students of special subjects, who are remote from large library centers, access to material of great value, which otherwise could not have been available.

The recognition by many states of the need to provide the second half of the educational sphere, libraries, of which the other hemisphere is the public schools, so that there may be a rounded sphere of opportunity, makes the steps of progress comparatively easy; but if there is on the part of the state an indifferent, uninformed, and skeptical attitude toward books as necessities, then the need for a campaign of education is imperative, and where shall the source and impetus of such a campaign be but in the American Library Association, a national association, whose purpose is "to foster the development of libraries and promote the use of books"?

It has been the history of the development of education in America in all its phases that it has been projected and guided by means of the self-effacing efforts of a minority who believed with fervor in the absolute necessity of education for all, if democracy is to endure. The fact that we are absolutely committed to the program of a democracy has placed upon the American public library a responsibility which exists in no other country. Coupled with the requirement of a literate citizenry is the further and far-reaching assumption that there shall be such equality of opportunity as shall make it possible for anyone to aspire to, and to attain, the highest place of responsibility and authority upon one's own merits, regardless of family, race, religion, sex, class, or station. This somewhat dazzling assumption of "equality of opportunity" must sometimes be modified by experience, but the educational facilities that are provided in increasing abundance, and of which the public libraries have a share, are making this claim

more effective year by year. When, however, we learn that 83 per cent of the people living in the rural areas of the United States and Canada do not have public library service, we can realize that the task in library extension which lies ahead is very great. This fact was recognized by the American Library Association when it created the Committee on Library Extension, which has presented in its report *Library Extension: a study of public library conditions and needs,* 1926, a careful and informing survey of present conditions and possible methods for future development. The committee presents as "the ultimate goal: adequate public library service within easy reach of everyone in the United States and Canada." To accomplish this, the library movement must adopt the methods used in other educational movements in presenting convincing demonstrations of book service, in experiments in undeveloped state and county fields, and in seeking close coöperation with other educational agencies.

The public schools exist because of the early conviction of the necessity for education, and the library movement owes much to its early leaders who cherished similar convictions regarding the necessity for widespread opportunities for all in making general intelligence possible through the use of books. The program, therefore, for library extension is based on a sincere conviction of the necessity for book service, embracing every state, county, and rural community in these United States. Out of this has come several types or units of extension, some of them frankly experimental, but each leading nearer to the goal: adequate public library service within easy reach of everyone. Recognizing the state as the educational unit, the active extension of library facilities has been, since 1890, provided through state library commissions and library extension departments of state libraries, and more

recently in some states by the Library Division of the State Department of Education. The size of the state as the unit for extension has been clearly shown to be too large for adequate individual service, although the state traveling libraries and personal mail service from a state center have been, and still are, of the greatest value to those living in isolated communities. Ambitious villages and small towns have found the maintenance funds available from library taxation entirely inadequate to provide a reasonable collection of books and skilled service; hence the general conclusion of those who are thoroughly informed is that the county or similar political unit rather than the state, affords the best organization for providing book service for those living outside the larger city areas which are served by the city libraries.

The county library occupies a strategic position in a rural community, similar to that of the consolidated rural schools and is steadily gaining ground as a type of library service making for economy and effectiveness. With a system of book distribution from the county-seat town through branches, stations, school deposits, telephone, and personal mail service and possibly by book auto in regular delivery routes, there is the possibility of rendering book service to every resident of the county, no matter where he lives. Such service for rural dwellers is comparable to that given by a large city library system through its central library, branches, stations, etc. With this generally accepted ideal for library service for *all* the people, there can be no greater project before the American Library Association than the forwarding of such a program. The many important and special activities of the Association, such as Adult Education and Education for Librarianship, are closely related to this far-reaching plan for the extension of library facilities to all, and are, indeed, largely dependent upon it for the further development of these important projects.

States which are "backward" in the sense of being slow in providing books for their citizens must be helped in organizing programs for securing a sound financial basis for book service, and those who have not yet "seen the light" need to be convinced of the essential integrity and necessity of book service, by means of demonstrations of library service such as have been given in health, agriculture, and other fields.

One feature of library extension which needs to be emphasized is that while demonstrations and publicity are of great value in creating a sentiment in the community favorable to library service, the need for sound library legislation providing for tax support in the various states is fundamental. In order that books and information service may be placed on a firm educational basis, laws are necessary in each state, comparable to the school laws, which will insure adequate and steady revenue for libraries, and consecutive and stable management and control. In fact, the direct financial encouragement the state might give to local communities in this phase of public education seems as justifiable as the aid given in many states to the public schools. It has been proposed in some states that there should be financial aid given by the state by providing a "stimulating" fund to encourage the founding and support of county libraries, by coöperative funds. The county library as the unit for rural library extension is recognized as the most practical and resultful method.

The service to be rendered to the nation in the general advance in intelligence, practical efficiency, and culture through the convenient, easily accessible, and intelligently administered collection of books can no longer be questioned. Books in every community, with educated, skilled, informed librarians to make them of service to all—children, adults, the farmer, the city dweller; books for inspiration and information, for joy and for practical use—such is the objective for library extension.

But, in a sense, objectives are only milestones on the way toward a desired goal, which should come as the result of book service. Library extension and book service bring nearer the elusive goal of developing a thoughtful, intelligent citizenship. Certainly the real goal is not toward an external end; it must be in the realm of mind and spirit. If one can phrase a practical end for the elusive quest, it might be: Helping people to use their minds! Stimulating people to think! This is more than mere reading. Thinking is becoming, amid present-day diversions and distractions, more and more difficult. Whatever contributes to such a desirable end is worth while; many agencies are coöperating in effort and experiment to help human beings in their aspiring desire to find the satisfying mental and spiritual experiences of the thoughtful and meditative life. To librarians is given the task of forwarding this desirable end by advancing in every way the extension of library facilities and library opportunities to all.

THE PLACE OF THE ENDOWED REFERENCE LIBRARY IN THE COMMUNITY

BY ROBERT J. USHER

AT the meeting of the American Library Association at Narragansett Pier in 1906, an interesting symposium was arranged by a group of librarians of proprietary or subscription libraries, the predecessors of the free library. The papers there presented demonstrated clearly enough their reasons for being, the advantages and the aims and purposes of this class of libraries. Much has been printed concerning the work of the public circulating library and the college library. There remains something to be said about another group of libraries which play an important part in the life of the community, namely, the endowed reference libraries.

The number of such libraries is and always has been small. They are to be found chiefly in large cities and they serve to supplement the work of other libraries in the same community. They fall readily into three divisions, the first one being made up of a group of libraries unusually well endowed, usually restricted in use, and whose possessions are chiefly exceedingly rare material. There come to mind as representatives of this class the names of the institutions founded through the beneficence of such men as James Lenox, John Carter Brown, Henry E. Huntington, J. Pierpont Morgan, and William L. Clements.

The second division of the endowed libraries is made up of those established as part of an educational institute which carries on other cultural activities. In this group appear, with their birth date, the names of such libraries as the Peabody

Institute of Baltimore, 1857, the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, 1887, and the Goodwin Institute of Memphis, 1907.

Finally, there is a third group of endowed reference libraries which aim to provide and maintain, purely for reference purposes, collections of material covering fairly definite fields. Here should be given in first place the Astor Library, which maintained a separate existence from 1848 to 1895, when it was amalgamated with the New York Public Library. Other pioneers were the Grosvenor Library of Buffalo, 1859, the Watkinson Library of Reference of Hartford, 1866, and the Eben Dale Sutton Reference Library of Peabody, Massachusetts, 1869.

In the period of the nineties were established the Newberry Library of Chicago, 1887, the Howard Memorial Library of New Orleans, 1889, and the John Crerar Library of Chicago, 1894. Institutions of a more recent date are the James J. Hill Reference Library of St. Paul, 1921, and the Eastman Memorial Foundation of Laurel, Mississippi, 1923. The list given is not all-inclusive and the classification suggested serves in a general way only and admittedly brings together libraries widely different in point of resources and income-producing possessions.

All the last-named endowed libraries have a number of points of similarity. Practically all are non-circulating, the Pratt Institute being in this particular an exception to the rule. So far as known, all except the Grosvenor Library receive their support wholly from the income from endowment investments. The city of Buffalo has for a good many years recognized the place of the Grosvenor Library as the reference library of the city and has added to its support through taxes, as it provides for the Public Library.

These libraries are for the most part alike in that they have been named for a family or a benefactor who made the original gifts. All alike suffer somewhat in consequence be-

cause of mistaken notions which prevail concerning the advisability of giving public or private support to such an institution. Part of the disinclination to come to the aid of such libraries is apparently because of their character, since such support is freely given to scores of public circulating libraries bearing a founder's name. Another common and erroneous belief which militates against such libraries is that the family which provided the institution would resent additional gifts from those who might be interested, or that the institution is already sufficiently well provided for or will be by those whose name it bears. There are many good reasons why endowed libraries should be aided financially by all who are interested in the community's welfare.

For the endowed reference library which confines its interests to rarities, there is no question as to what it will collect, nor of a likelihood that it will encroach upon the province of another neighboring library. For the general reference library, which, to simplify the term, will hereafter be referred to as the reference library, as distinguished from the circulating or public library, a definite decision has to be made as to policy in acquisition. Some have solved the problem in one way, some in another. In Chicago, through early agreement between the trustees of the reference libraries and the public library, a fairly clear division of the field of literature was determined upon, the Newberry Library taking over the humanities and history, the John Crerar Library pure and applied sciences and sociology, and the Chicago Public Library works of a more popular character likely to be in demand for circulating purposes.

Mr. Joseph G. Pyle, Librarian of the James J. Hill Reference Library at the time of that library's foundation, went somewhat into the question of what the library should attempt to do, and stated that the practice to be followed would be that which had been laid down by its founder. "He di-

rected that only a limited number of the latest and most authoritative works on each subject should be included in the collection. All that could pass this test were to be purchased. But whenever a new book really superseded an old, whether by the same author or by another, the new was to go on the shelf and the old was to be thrown away."

A good many reference libraries would like, by this procedure, to keep down to a minimum of the most recent authoritative books. However, if the policy of the library is to be that of covering fairly completely certain definite fields, a good deal of material must be collected and preserved which may be rarely called for and yet will be expected to be at hand by the careful research worker, in whatever field, who cannot run the risk of overlooking a single contribution of interest.

The reference library works against certain disadvantages. It can never hope to attain the popularity of the public library. It must forever defend its practice of requiring that its material be read within the library walls against a public schooled in the thought that books should circulate. It can never hope to have a great number of readers, such as throng the corridors of the public library. It cannot make the popular appeals in its advertising so characteristic of the circulating library. What the reference library can do and does do is to build up important collections not likely to be made otherwise. In so far as it makes this contribution to the city in which it is located it becomes an educational institution of first importance.

The public library movement in America is one of recent growth and one in which great emphasis has been laid upon the advantages growing out of the free circulation of books. That book circulation met a general need and gained a measure of support for the library not believed possible seventy-five years ago is a matter of history. Joseph Cogswell, first librarian of the Astor Library, a few years after the

founding of the institution, said: "No large library, filled with the popular reading books of the day, could sustain itself fifty years unless its means were unlimited. All the works of that class would require to be renewed every four or five years and inevitable bankruptcy would be the end of the institution." The great change of sentiment which followed the introduction of free libraries is well illustrated in the discussion by Mr. Horace Kephart of the decline of the subscription library. "Subscription libraries in the United States continued to prosper until the free public library movement was well under way. Then their fortunes, one and all, experienced a sea-change. Competition between fee-charging libraries and free libraries was out of the question—where the subscription library had thousands, the free library had hundreds of thousands."

In the sudden flush of prosperity attendant upon the idea of the free circulation of books a certain amount of neglect of the reference work of the public library was inevitable. In emphasizing the value and necessity of acquiring and preserving for reference and research purposes collections appropriate and sufficient for local needs, the reference library has stood as a salutary example and still points the way to a large majority of public libraries. In this situation there is evidence here and there of a marked change for the better, and the present general tendency is toward a correction of the fault. If one were to search now, however, for important collections of reference works, such, for example, as have to do with sugar, petroleum, meat and dairy products, textiles and leather, he would find that the best collections are often quite distant from the city which might reasonably be expected to contain such material. I recall, as a typical illustration, a reader who once came to my attention who had traveled some five hundred miles in order to have access to the files of an important railroad journal. Yet he had come

from a mid-western city which owed its very existence to the railway, a fact which its public library might have been expected to remember in building up its collections.

Speaking before the American Library Institute of the faulty distribution of serial sets of publications as judged by the records seen in the *Union List of Serials,* Mr. James T. Gerould, Librarian of Princeton University, recently said: "With the information at hand we have irrefutable evidence of facts that before were only surmised. We now know that there are hosts of important serials, no copy of which is listed. . . . In other words we are confronted by a situation in which the libraries are not serving at their best the larger community of scholarship." And a little later he continues: "One field has, however, been generally neglected. The trade journal is for some reason or other despised, yet this type of publication contains an essential record of the progress of industry. Complete sets are rare. Forty-six libraries, for example, report on the *Textile World,* but no one of them has a complete set. There is only one complete file of the *Petroleum Age.* Doubtless there are many of these journals which are not reported at all. It should be the function of any large library to secure files of such of these journals as relate to the industry of their own region."

The question of what the relations of the reference library and the public library of the city are to be must be determined by every community for itself. In New York, through an extraordinary bringing together of various interests, the reference libraries, the Lenox and the Astor, were amalgamated with the Public Library. In Boston a similar proposal for union of the Athenaeum and the Public Library was rejected in 1853 after full discussion of the project. In St. Paul the two institutions occupy jointly one building, the two libraries being separately administered. In Chicago, as we have seen, there is a fairly clear understanding of the field each insti-

tution attempts to cover. Considerations of other possible amalgamations are heard of from time to time. Where such a union is effected the reference department of the united library probably has a far better chance to grow to one of importance than it otherwise would.

The most serious problem of the endowed library, as of the endowed educational institution, is the provision of support such that its future growth and expansion are secured. Looking to the future, the librarian shares in the hope which Captain Robert Keayne expressed in 1653 when making his will providing for a library for use in Boston. "And though my bookes be not many, nor very fitte for such a work . . . yet after this beginning the Lord may stir up some others that will add more to them & helpe to carry the work on by bookes of more valew, antiquity, use and esteeme." Added books call for additional administrative funds. Some plan which provides increases automatically is safer than trust in the hazards of fortune. Some endowed libraries provide that a part of all income is to be added annually to principal funds. The ingenious plan suggested in Mr. Samuel Ranck's Hundred Years Fund is worthy of commendation, as is the provision made by John Bromfield, in his gift to the Boston Athenaeum in 1846, which provides that three-fourths of the income is to be spent each year for books and one-fourth added to principal.

Endowed reference libraries, though small in number, have had an influential part in encouraging the spread of knowledge. It is to be hoped that those now established may grow in favor and strength and that their number may be added to by others who will prefer to make their benefactions in that form.

THE LIBRARY WAR SERVICE AND ITS GENERAL DIRECTOR

BY GEORGE B. UTLEY

LIKE Kipling's ship which found itself in the stress and strain of a storm, the American Library Association found itself in the hectic and tumultuous days of the World War. For over forty years the A.L.A. had pursued a career of placid respectability, developing a professional technique of librarianship, devising ways and means for serving better the patrons of public libraries, and helping modestly and not without some success to spread the gospel of the benefits derived from the reading of good books. But the world knew naught of it, nor of its works. Outside its ranks, its history, its activities, its aims were practically unknown. Even the initials of its name were cabalistic. Only its two-thousand-odd members knew that it possessed potential power, that it had been gathering strength for wider usefulness, that it was ready to meet an emergency and perform a national service.

Suddenly the opportunity came. The A.L.A. recognized it. It quickly saw what it could do and it knew how to do it. Now was the chance to apply the technique it had helped to develop, to test its skill in organization, its knowledge of books, and the application of them to human needs. The Library Association of Great Britain regretted, when it was too late, that it had not grasped its opportunity, that it had permitted other hands, other organizations, to take the lead in supplying books and magazines to the nation's fighting men. It generously congratulated the A.L.A. because the latter had not made that mistake, that it had not failed to serve; incidentally, that it had not lost the prestige of that service. For

it brought prestige, reputation to a degree, opportunity to do other things, recognition, and the invitation to participate when other national programs were in the making.

Ten years ago the members of the American Library Association were in the thick of the Library War Service. True, the armistice had been signed, the fighting was over, but the men, over two millions of them, were still in France, so that the peak of the service was not reached until May and June of 1919. Much was written of this enterprise while it was in progress, and some magazine articles and Theodore Koch's excellent four-hundred-page *Books in the War,* appropriately dedicated to Dr. Herbert Putnam, have appeared since its close, but it was suggested to the writer, when invited to contribute to this group of essays, that a brief survey of the principal features of that undertaking from the viewpoint of ten years after might not be inappropriate in this place and in this connection.

Obviously no more than a mere outline—a suggestion—of the cardinal points in the unfolding of that professional drama can be presented—and more than that is unnecessary to recall those events and cause them to stand out vividly in the memory of all who participated in them. How clearly we recall the first chapter in those stirring days in the spring of 1917: the promptness of President Walter Brown to recognize the existence of an Association emergency as soon as our country entered the war; the appointment by him of a Preliminary Committee of seven, with Dr. Herbert Putnam appropriately its chairman, charged with the duty to report, make recommendations and suggest a program of action at the forthcoming Louisville Conference; and the immediate interest of the members of the A.L.A., as evidenced by the many practical proposals submitted.

The committee's report, presented by Dr. Putnam to the Association on June 22, pointed out that, assuming the A.L.A.

wished to do what it could to serve professionally in the national emergency, two avenues were open, one, to render its service through other welfare organizations, as, for example, through the Young Men's Christian Association, the other, to offer its service independently. To the latter suggestion the response was immediate and hearty, not because of professional or associational egotism, but because the A.L.A. was convinced that it was in a position to make a distinct contribution, and that it could be more effectively made through its independent identity than otherwise. And this opinion was strengthened, when, on June 28, the War and Navy departments, through Chairman Raymond B. Fosdick, of the Commissions on Training Camp Activities, invited and requested the A.L.A. to take over the responsibility of erecting library buildings in the cantonments and other camps and of giving professional library service to the men in arms.

There was the clear call, the duty, the unparalleled opportunity. Of those professionally equipped and eager to serve there were enough and to spare. The program was definite and practical and it had the all-important governmental authority and sanction, more than sanction, the expressed wish, the request, which gave to the Library War Service throughout its existence those official contacts and relationships which were invaluable, and prized accordingly.

Following the adoption of the report of the Preliminary Committee, the Association promptly appointed a War Service Committee: J. I. Wyer, Jr., E. H. Anderson, Arthur E. Bostwick, Frank P. Hill, M. S. Dudgeon, Alice S. Tyler, and Gratia A. Countryman. Miss Tyler was unable to serve and Electra C. Doren was appointed in her place. This committee functioned throughout the period of the War Service, and, subject to the ratification of its actions by the Executive Board, in order that the provisions of the constitution might be complied with, was the official body responsible to the

A.L.A. for the operation of this emergency service. There were, however, some changes in personnel. Dr. Bostwick and Mr. Dudgeon resigned in the fall of 1917 and were succeeded by William H. Brett and Charles F. D. Belden, and after the death of the former R. R. Bowker was appointed to his place. Toward the end of the service Miss Countryman resigned and Mary L. Titcomb succeeded her. Both Mr. Bowker and Dr. Putnam had declined place in the original composition of the committee, not because either shirked duty, but because both saw opportunity for equivalent service elsewhere. The three presidents of the Association who held office during the period of the War Service, Thomas L. Montgomery, 1917-18, William W. Bishop, 1918-19, and Chalmers Hadley, 1919-20, were, although the constitution made no such provision, recognized as in fact *ex-officiis* members of the committee, and rendered most valuable and appreciated aid, Mr. Bishop and Mr. Hadley both giving full-time service for several weeks at headquarters and in the field.

But even with a comprehensive program, the requisite authority, and the essential organization, actual operations could not proceed without money. That must be had and in fairly large amount to do the work adequately. The Association did not have it, but the American people did, and nothing which money could provide was too good for the flower of its youth, rapidly gathering in training camps, soon to go overseas to face peril, perhaps not to return. Thus it was natural and appropriate for the A.L.A. to say to the American people: This too is your work; we will do it for you if you will provide the means.

The War Service Committee under the capable leadership of Chairman Wyer, immediately became active, made its plans more definite, appointed subcommittees, one of which was on finance, with Dr. Hill chairman, and under his able

and enthusiastic leadership the first financial campaign, the "Million Dollar Drive," of September, 1917, was organized and carried to success. "A million dollars, for a million books, for a million men" was the slogan, but when the complete returns were in it was found that the actual receipts were $1,749,706.31. This amount included $320,000 from the Carnegie Corporation, given expressly for buildings in the thirty-two cantonments and larger camps. The sum of $10,000 was given later by Mrs. Finley J. Shepard for the library building at Great Lakes Naval Training Station.[1]

By the first of October it was seen that funds ample to carry out the projected program would be forthcoming and so, at a meeting in Washington, on October 4, 1917, the War Service Committee, recognizing the necessity of concentrating in a single executive the prosecution of the work, voted unanimously that Herbert Putnam, Librarian of Congress, be requested to take over the direction and conduct of the entire undertaking. The abundant confidence of the committee was shown in the amplitude of the authority conferred on him. He was entrusted with all responsibility for the personnel of the service, with the design and equipment of the buildings proposed and with the contracts for their erection, with the selection of all books to be purchased or otherwise acquired, with the establishment of the governmental relationships and connections with other organizations, with all contracts for supplies or for other necessary matters of business—in short, to carry into effect the general purposes for which the War Service Committee was created. And to enable him to carry out these projects necessary funds, as needed and as available, were to be transferred from time to time to his control.

The information that the responsibility for this extensive

1. This gift was made anonymously, but Mrs. Shepard permits the writer here to acknowledge the source of this generous donation.

and important emergency service had been placed in Dr. Putnam's experienced and capable hands was greeted with intense satisfaction by his colleagues and library associates throughout the country. Promptly on accepting the charge he set about building up a working organization and establishing headquarters. For the latter, ample and convenient space, cost free to the War Service, was provided in the Library of Congress, Dr. Putnam, as its head, being able to make this provision, due to the fact that, as the A.L.A. was undertaking this enterprise at the request of the War and Navy departments, it was by that token rendering in fact a government service, and governmental quarters could therefore with propriety be assigned to it. The writer, who was at that time secretary of the A.L.A., had been appointed executive secretary of the War Service by the Executive Board, and was asked by Dr. Putnam to continue in that capacity. Mr. Dudgeon, who had been serving since August as camp library manager, was also retained. William L. Brown, of the Copyright Office, was appointed disbursing officer, and to his efficiency and business ability were due the invariable smoothness and dispatch of all financial routine. There were only about a dozen camp librarians then in the field, these rendering what service they could with donated books and temporary equipment and quarters.

Rapidly the organization when once started took shape, grew by leaps and bounds, and overcame the difficulties which inevitably arise in an emergency situation. Contracts for buildings were placed, practically without exception with the camp contractors, and the buildings were erected, from plans drawn by the well-known library architect, Edward L. Tilton, who generously donated his professional services. Camp librarians took the field, many of the most capable library executives in the country being patriotically and generously released by their boards of trustees for this work.

Library buildings were erected in all the thirty-two cantonments and large camps. Most of them were 40 x 120 feet, but some were smaller, 40 x 93. Plans provided for one large room with two bedrooms at one end for the use of the staff. Shelving for from ten to fifteen thousand volumes was arranged in alcove form. Comfortable chairs and reading tables were provided. Branch libraries were established in practically all the "Y" and "K. of C." huts in every camp, the books being looked after by the welfare secretaries. Some of the main buildings had out-of-door reading porches and others had fireplaces built in as a happy afterthought, and the open fire, in a quiet room, with a good book and a good pipe gave the homesick soldier a touch of home that he could find nowhere else. "The A.L.A. building is the only place in camp," one man wrote home, "where one feels secure from both rag-time and prayer meetings." The library at Camp Lewis, near Tacoma, the first to be completed, was opened on November 28, 1917. The others followed in rapid succession, so that by the end of December many were in operation, and nearly all were in full swing by February, 1918. Some opened with a bit of ceremony, frequently with an address by the commanding officer of the camp. Former President Taft and the writer of this sketch were the speakers at the opening of the library at Camp Lee, in Virginia. Some omitted all ceremony, simply opened the doors, and the men flocked in. Perhaps that was the best kind of an opening.

Joseph L. Wheeler, released by his Youngstown board, succeeded Mr. Dudgeon at headquarters, when, in November, the latter's leave of absence from his Wisconsin post expired. Carl H. Milam soon after was lent by his Birmingham board, came to headquarters to accept that frequently applied generic cognomen, "Assistant to the General Director," and thus began an official connection with the A.L.A. which rapidly increased in importance and value, and which has proved to be

a continuing relationship. From the staff of three or four of October, 1917, the headquarters personnel grew, with the rapidly expanding requirements, until the Library of Congress was the host to a force of over seventy Library War Service workers. And the field workers in camps, training posts, naval stations, dispatch offices, hospitals, on shipboard, and overseas grew until on June 1, 1919, the number which had served in these or other field capacities during the preceding year reached to more than eight hundred. Some who served were volunteers; others were released without pay by their home boards and so received a modest honorarium in addition to subsistence. These expenditures were kept as low as possible. Of the first $800,000 spent, less than $60,000 went for salaries. At the peak of the service in June, 1919, it was reported that the numbers of camps, stations, hospitals, and vessels served during the preceding year had been 3,981. Not only had service been given in America and France, but books bearing the A.L.A. bookplate had also reached our men in Germany, Russia, Siberia, the Philippine Islands, Alaska, the West Indies, the Canal Zone, Hawaii, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Samoa, Bermuda, Nicaragua, and China, and on board ship everywhere.

Seemingly Dr. Putnam's whole time was devoted to the enterprise. When we dropped in to consult him, and his door always opened to us without formality, the chances were five to one we should find him engaged in Library War Service business rather than on matters relating to the Library of Congress. One day a prominent fellow librarian, who called to see him, inquired, by way of opening the conversation, "Well, Dr. Putnam, how is the Library of Congress getting on?" "Very well—I'm told," was the laconic reply. And he was "told" correctly. He had built well in his (then) twenty years of tenure of office: the foundation and the organization erected on it were secure and the well-oiled machinery went

on with scarce a protesting creak, even though for several months the chief engineer spent but little time in inspecting it. And all that notwithstanding the fact that he not only diverted so large a part of his own time and energy to the war work, but that also he lent to the service some of the Library of Congress's most capable division heads: Mr. Koch, Mr. Hastings, Mr. Slade, Mrs. Rider—to mention but a few.

The occupancy of our fine quarters in the Library of Congress was not without inconvenience to their permanent tenants. The space assigned by Dr. Putnam to the War Service was the Maps and Charts Division, at the northwest corner of the first floor. Dr. Phillips, the distinguished and scholarly head of the division, and his corps of assistants, were banished "for the duration of the war" to inconvenient and incommodious quarters to the rear. One day, about a week after the signing of the armistice, Dr. Phillips appeared in the doorway, surveyed rather mournfully the hectic scene, with its clatter of typewriters, its crackle of papers, its hum of voices, and murmured, "The war's over. Why don't they go home?" But the service was far from over, for with its steadily rising curve, its peak was not reached until seven months later, and it was a full year before peace and topographic calm were again restored to his beloved domain, which, to the regret of all who knew him, he was so soon to leave forever.

In January, 1918, Dr. Raney, who had been appointed overseas director, was sent to Europe to make contacts and prepare the way for the books and librarians to come. His mission was eminently successful: Admiral Sims promised the hearty coöperation of the naval authorities and General Pershing assured Dr. Raney that our program was commendable and the service welcome, and, in order to enable us to get books to France, requested Washington to grant the A.L.A. a tonnage of not to exceed fifty ship tons a month.

An overseas dispatch office was opened in Hoboken, to be followed by similar offices in Newport News, Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Brooklyn. The books were shipped in classified form, in a standard case which held from fifty to sixty volumes. This case, which came to be known as the "Hoboken Box," was designed by Mr. Wheeler, was strongly and neatly built, and, with screwed-on top and medial shelf, it had, when stacked, the value of a sectional bookcase.

In March, 1918, Burton Stevenson left his work at Washington headquarters, and, accompanied by Mrs. Stevenson, his indefatigable assistant, went to Paris and established, for the rapidly arriving books, a distributing station which quickly grew into a reference library, then into a circulating library, and then in turn, after the war, into that excellent institution, the American Library in Paris.

In January, 1919, Dr. Putnam donned a Library War Service uniform and sailed for France to determine personally, as General Director, questions of policy connected with the overseas work. For the next six months he kept closely in touch with the situation, not only in Paris, but in the field as well, establishing many valuable official contacts which he only could have made.

After the signing of the armistice practically unlimited cargo space was granted by the War Department and books at the peak of the overseas service were shipped at the rate of about one hundred thousand a month. Altogether two and a half million books, in round numbers, were sent to France. They were shipped as fast as they could be secured, made ready, and sent. General Pershing cabled the War Department asking that everything possible be done to expedite their shipment, as they were greatly needed. Time was hanging heavy on the hands of the boys now that the fighting was over, and reading material was inexpressibly welcome to offset the homesickness, the cold, the mud, the general discon-

tent at the delays in embarkation. A Paris dispatch office was opened to distribute books on a vaster scale, and with greater speed. Men and women trained in library work were sent over, or found already over there, and they organized libraries and library war service in all the principal hospitals, base camps, and rest areas, notably in such regions as Le Mans, St. Aignan, Tours, Toul, Bordeaux, St. Nazaire, Brest, Coblenz, and at the A.E.F. University at Beaune. At the latter place, under the capable eye and hand of Luther Dickerson, the A.L.A. performed one of its best and most appreciated pieces of war service. This improvised university library functioned with conspicuous effectiveness right from the start. So quickly did it get under way that four days after it was opened it was so crowded that the building, erected expressly for the purpose by army engineers on army orders, had to be doubled in size. At the height of service it was lending nearly two thousand books a day, practically all of which were on educational subjects, and providing seating space for fifteen hundred students.

In addition to the work in distinctly A.L.A. centers, book collections varying in size from one hundred to six thousand volumes were placed in 636 Y.M.C.A. huts, 41 Salvation Army cabins, 55 Knights of Columbus huts, 17 Y.W.C.A. hostess houses, 7 centers of the Jewish Welfare Board, and with many smaller welfare organizations, as well as directly with 718 military units. In September, 1918, General Pershing granted to the A.L.A. the franking privilege throughout the U.S. Army Post Offices in France, and this made possible a direct mail service with members of the A.E.F. Thousands of books in the next ten months were sent from Paris and other central points direct to the soldiers. This highly appreciated service was in the charge of Mrs. Stevenson, who for months worked fourteen to sixteen hours a day, seven days in the week, and who was frequently and affectionately called "the mother of the A.E.F."

In the meantime, on the opposite side of the globe another significant act of the service was being played. Harry Clemons, formerly reference librarian at Princeton, had for several years held the post of Professor of English and Librarian at Nanking University in China. By cable, he was asked to obtain leave of absence, proceed at earliest possible date to Vladivostok, and from that point supervise A.L.A. book service for the American soldiers in eastern Siberia. Entirely disregarding all personal convenience, he promptly accepted the assignment and within two weeks was on the way. Books and magazines were rushed from San Francisco, and one of the most picturesque phases of the service resulted in the satisfying and appreciated service rendered.

Early in the service Caroline Webster was called to Washington headquarters to arrange for and build up library work in the hospitals. By the inevitable nature of the situation, it was realized this would become one of the most important divisions of the work. She remained as director of it during the period of the war, and made a contribution, the value of which cannot be expressed in words. In the fall of 1918 Mary Frances Isom, volunteering her fine professional assistance, free of cost to the war fund, was sent to France to organize library service in the principal hospital centers, and there made a memorable contribution until failing health, culminating in fatal illness in April, 1920, compelled her to return home. Other trained capable women librarians took up and carried on the hospital work overseas, building there on the foundations so excellently laid in this country in the camp and base hospitals by Miss Webster. No finer or nobler aspect of the Library War Service, or one which received greater appreciation or rendered greater benefit, was displayed than the skilled book service given in the army and naval hospitals. The therapeutic value of books, especially in the treatment of nervous and mental disorders, came to be understood and

appreciated as never before. This war service discovery, for it was almost that, has proved of continuing benefit and has brought into peace-time library practice a field of operation which was tilled only in isolated cases previous to 1918.

By the spring of 1918 it was clearly seen that the Library War Service would soon need more funds. The responsibility and work of securing them was again placed in the hands of Dr. Hill and his subcommittee on finance. While the A.L.A. and several other welfare organizations were in the midst of preparations for "drives," word came from President Wilson directing all these bodies to join forces and go before the public in one united request, apportioning the receipts according to previously arranged schedules of percentages. Thus the United War Work Campaign was conducted by seven welfare organizations—the "Seven Sisters of Service" —during the week of November 11-18. The goal was $170,000,000, the largest sum ever asked as a gift for any purpose. The share of the A.L.A. was to be $3,500,000. Notwithstanding the fact that the armistice was signed just as the "drive" began, the public appreciated the need for the funds and the propriety of the request. More than $200,000,000 were contributed, making the share of the A.L.A. over $4,000,000. This amount proved ample to carry the Library War Service through the work to which it had set its hand, even leaving a small balance which has been used in certain continuing aspects of that service. In this campaign, as in the first, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, our representative on the official council, rendered most valued service to the A.L.A., as a slight token of appreciation of which the Association elected him an honorary member.

Throughout the period of the service a steady effort was maintained by librarians all over the country for the donation of suitable and worthy books, for every volume given left money free for other purposes. Three intensive "drives" were

conducted: the first in the summer of 1917, which netted about two hundred thousand volumes; the second in the following spring, which brought in approximately three and a half million books, about three-quarters of which were suited for the purpose intended, and a third campaign early in 1919. All these gift books were thoroughly sifted to see that no worthless ones were uselessly transported. In addition to the gift books, millions of the so-called "Burleson magazines," given by the people and sent to the camps by special mailing provisions authorized by the Postmaster General, were reaching the camp libraries, coming in such overwhelming quantities that the camp librarians dreamed nightly of being buried under mountains of the *Saturday Evening Post.*

Books began to be bought as soon as funds were available. Lists of desirable books, fiction and non-fiction, were compiled by competent librarians and purchasing began in October, 1917. Altogether about three million volumes were bought during the period of the service. This large number could not have been secured with the comparatively small funds available except that the publishers generously gave discounts ranging from 40 to 50 per cent. That was their contribution toward the winning of the war and it was not a small one.

The quality of the books called for and read was a marvel even to library folk who had predicted much and hoped for more. In addition to the light fiction the men demanded all kinds of war books, histories, books of travel, biographies, French manuals, poetry, and serious works on all lines of science and technology. Within three months after the opening of the camp libraries 40 per cent of the men were using them.

All interest in military books died a sudden death on November 11, 1918. But the soldiers became just as keenly in-

terested in those dealing with, as the War Service phrased it, "Your Job Back Home." So there was an almost unlimited demand for books on business, engineering, craftsmanship of all sorts, drafting, salesmanship, machine-shop practice, farming, dairying, and every other kind of vocational subject.

Disposition of the books, especially those overseas, when the war service use for them was over, was no small task. Many thousands of desirable books were shipped back from France to the United States. Some thousands were left at the American Library in Paris. Collections of suitable books, especially chosen to interpret the spirit, history, institutions, and attitude of America, were made up and presented to certain universities and other educational centers in France and elsewhere overseas. On November 1, 1919, the War Service Committee, as a result of negotiations made by Chairman Wyer, transferred to the army and navy for a continuing service to the enlisted men, 25 buildings, 921,293 books and a personnel numbering 164, with all equipment and good will. After this action had been taken there remained about two hundred and sixty thousand books still on hand in this country. By vote of the Committee these were turned over to the state library commissions and other state library agencies for use and distribution, with the recommendation that the war service aspect of their origin be kept in view in using them, and that special consideration be given to requests from ex-service men.

In December, 1919, Dr. Putnam was, at his urgent request, relieved of the general directorship, and Mr. Milam, who had served as acting general director while the chief was overseas, was appointed as his successor, and under his efficient supervision the affairs of the Library War Service were gradually gathered up and brought to a conclusion, except those continuing activities which were transferred to other agencies and organizations.

To us who had the privilege of working with Dr. Putnam during those two years of the Library War Service, the experience will always be treasured in memory. Only a master mind could have recognized so quickly the essential elements required for the building up of a large and far-flung organization in so short a time, and have known so well how to obtain those essentials, make out of them a machine which worked, and which began so quickly to produce the things expected of it. Always considerate of his associates, Dr. Putnam possesses in large measure that rare gift of bringing out the best in those associated with him. Throughout the period of the service he showed the hand of a good executive in that he placed responsibility and then expected results.

But he kept intimately in touch with all features of the work. In the spring of 1918 he made an extended trip of inspection, going to the southern and southwestern camps, through to the Pacific Coast and back through the central part of the country. During the first year of the War Service he personally visited a majority of the libraries in the cantonments and larger camps, conferring with the personnel, gaining a first-hand knowledge of the problems, the requirements, the nature of the work being done. And in the second year, as we have noted above, he spent six months in France in intimate touch with all phases of the work overseas. It was characteristic of him to want to acquire these first-hand experiences and contacts, but it was equally characteristic of him to be interested and concerned in the experiences and reports of any of us who were associated with him when we returned from an inspection of the field.

The present-day organization, efficiency, and nation-wide service of the Library of Congress, is, without question, Dr. Putnam's principal achievement and contribution to his chosen vocation, but the Library War Service was also his achievement, and his associates and colleagues will ever be

grateful to him for wise counsel and able leadership in that memorable enterprise.

The American Library Association went into the War Service for an altruistic purpose, its sole motive being to furnish good reading to the men in military service during the period of the war. But the by-products and outgrowths have been many. It gave more good publicity to libraries and library work generally in two years than had before been received in two centuries. The benefits thus obtained are still felt in many a community through better understanding of what the library represents and is trying to accomplish, and through better financial support of it. It did much to make the public book-minded—even that part which did not go to war.

After the war we found, more or less to our astonishment, that editorial and feature writers in newspapers and magazines were referring to library activities, something never done before to any noticeable degree. At last these activities were registering on the public mind. The War Service had humanized library work in the eyes of the people. Consequently, the A.L.A. felt justified more than ever in emphasizing a program of library extension, for when, during the war, sound and serious books were read and appreciated beyond our fondest hopes and dreams, it was brought home with keener realization than ever before what it meant for sixty millions of the American people to be practically without public library service of any kind. But what the efforts have been to meet these new conditions, responsibilities, and opportunities is outside the province of this paper.

"For the first time in its history," said Dr. Putnam in June, 1919, "the American Library Association has emerged from an organization with aims supposedly purely professional, into a public service corporation. And though the service has in terms been for an emergency, its influence will be permanent."

Looking back over the intervening ten years we appreciate the truth of his prediction. The influence of the Library War Service has been permanent. The American Library Association conducted the service as its part in helping to win the war, but its effects have been of permanent benefit to the Association.

AMERICAN LEGAL HISTORY

A CHALLENGE

BY JOHN VANCE

IT is highly significant that American philanthropy has become interested in a large way in the field of jurisprudence. This is true, not only at home, but abroad. Some of the best administered American foundations are endowing chairs of international law in foreign universities, aiding foreign law magazines by subvention, and maintaining special schools of international law in foreign countries. These are excellent works in themselves, since they contribute to the cause of international friendship and, at the same time, will doubtless add to our knowledge concerning the origins and philosophy of international law.

Of greater import is the project to restate our own common law, which the generosity of two well-advised trusts has made possible. Charity should indeed begin at home when the leaders of the American bar admit that: "There is today general dissatisfaction with the administration of justice."[1] That which was once called the "perfection of reason" one now learns has the two serious defects of uncertainty and complexity; and it is declared "that there are rules of law which are not working well in practice, and that much of our legal procedure and court organization needs revision."[2] Another voice of unquestioned authority announced some years ago that the administration of the criminal law in the United States was a national disgrace. Such language on the part of the bar can but serve to command the respect of the public for the members of a profession which of late has come dangerously near being classified as a business. Whether or

1. American Law Institute, *Proceedings*, Vol. 1, p. 1. 2. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

not, as the result of such candor, a restatement of the law of the forty and nine jurisdictions of the United States will result in a better administration of justice, at least some of its uncertainty and complexity will be brought to the attention of a representative body of American lawyers, who specialize too highly to keep abreast of the defects of the law in general.

American law schools, which are contributing no little to the reportorial work of the restatement, are also rendering excellent service in not merely trying to clarify the common law, but in attempting to discover the social forces responsible for its rules, a course which would seem essential to the establishment of any philosophical scheme of clarification and unification. In the last analysis perhaps it is more to the law schools than to the bar that we should look for leadership in the movement to bring about the necessary reforms. Indeed, one of the most salutary signs is the establishment of schools and institutes purely for research into law and political science. Obviously we cannot know our own law unless we know its history.

A great legal historian says that "the American contributions to the study of Anglo-American legal history has been very large,"[3] as he points to the important work that has been done by a number of our foremost jurists and law teachers from Story down to the present day. It is surprising to learn, however, that Professor Holdsworth is referring only to historians of Anglo-American law, for he considers that "purely American law has not yet got its historian." Yet this learned successor of Blackstone at Oxford realizes that "though the story is short as compared with the story of Anglo-American law, the difficulty is great, since it is the story of the law of a federation of forty-eight states."

3. Holdsworth, *Historians of Anglo-American Law*, 1928, pp. 99-100.

Professor Holdsworth admits that "one small part of that story—the part which relates to the history of the legal profession, and to legal education—has been told in a most interesting manner by Charles Warren in his History of the American bar." And when it is considered that not only the story of the American bar, but that of the Supreme Court of the United States in American history has been most ably written by Mr. Warren it would seem after all that one author has covered a very substantial part of our legal history. Although it will no doubt require the combined efforts of a "group of individuals" to write the history of American law, as Professor Holdsworth asserts, yet the difficulty of the task by reason of the forty-nine jurisdictions has not deterred the bench, the bar, or the university from contributing many creditable monographs and magazine articles thereon, which if assembled would compare favorably in volume with the productions of our eminent writers on the history of Anglo-American law.

Until the late Professor Reinsch issued his doctoral dissertation in 1899,[4] no comprehensive review had been made concerning the attitude of the early colonies toward the adoption of the English common law. His monograph was an important contribution to the subject, while his bibliography of sources and authorities was the first in that field.

"When American legal history," says Reinsch, "comes to be studied more thoroughly, it will perhaps be found that no country presents in the short space of three centuries, such a variety of interesting phenomena."[5] How aptly this assertion applies to the courts of the colonies alone may be learned from their records written in the English, French, Dutch, and Spanish languages, as well as from the variety of legal systems, some of whose principles were incorporated into

4. Reinsch, *English Common Law in the Early American Colonies.*
5. *Ibid.*, p. 1.

their common law. The diverse nature of the courts themselves is a matter of no little interest when there is found, not only the revival of Anglo-Saxon institutions, long since fallen into decay in the mother country,[6] but also many modern features of judicial procedure, such, for example, as the common law and equity being administered by one and the same court,[7] the absence of common-law fictions, the taking of testimony in open court in writing.

Not the least interesting of these "phenomena" are the men who were clothed with judicial authority. The colonial bench may have included few judges of erudition, but what is of far more importance, on the whole, justice was administered expeditiously and impartially. In American life the judge has not been a citizen professionally set apart from the community as he is in certain European countries. Whether his work would have been done more scientifically had he dedicated his talents from youth to the service of the blind *Justitia* is a question of considerable moment. Perhaps it may be proven that the American common law would not be so uncertain and complex, if the bench were a career separate from the legal profession. The fact remains, however, that some of our most famous judges have been no less famous as statesmen and even as soldiers.[8]

This and other questions as to the value of the American system may not be finally resolved by an intensive research into the legal history of the United States, but its beginnings will be better understood. That is indispensable to effective work by the bench, bar, and school, and without it the history of the nation is incomplete.[9]

6. Field, *Provincial Courts of New Jersey,* 1849, pp. 8-9.

7. What better name could be given to a tribunal than "Court of common right"? *Ibid.,* p. 12.

8. Hallam, "Early Courts and Lawyers" (*Yale Law Journal,* Vol. 25, p. 389).

9. "Like other social products, laws and legal institutions must be understood in their origin and their evolution and related to the successive social environments

There is no doubt that much remains to be done in the field of purely American history, although in view of the paucity of the records, through the ravages of fire, neglect, and a notable indifference to their historical value, it is a matter of wonder that so much has been compiled and written.[10] Considerable work has been accomplished in preserving and interpreting our colonial records by those who were rendering a labor of love to the state historical societies, but there has been no general collation of available material covering the legal history of the colonies. A great deal, too, of what has been published is often submerged in heavy tomes, whose indexes, where they exist, are far from helpful. A vast amount of local material of a biographical nature exemplifies only too well the vanity of vanities.

There is no dearth of historians in the United States. One of the ablest was a lawyer who contributed no small part to American legal history in his biography of John Marshall. A historian of equal ability is needed to assume the direction of writing the legal history of the United States, since it is not only a task for a "group of individuals," but it requires a scholarly executive to organize and edit the work—not necessarily a lawyer, but "a thorough training in modern law is almost indispensable for any one who wishes to do good work on legal history."[11]

There are American scholars who are not wanting in the special talents necessary for depicting the story of our law; and since the primary source material is rapidly finding its way into the safekeeping of great permanent collections, it only remains for the idea to be placed before one of our great

by which they have been conditioned, if we are to judge their present form and content objectively."—Yntema's Introduction to the translation of Calisse's *History of Italian Law* ("The Continental Legal History Series," Vol. 8, p. lvii).

10. Bond, *The Court of Appeals of Maryland*, 1928, pp. ii and iii. See also Loyd, *Early Courts of Pennsylvania*, 1910, pp. 1-2.

11. Maitland, *Collected Papers*, Vol. 1, pp. 480-497.

philanthropic foundations, and the work will be carried forward.

Whether Holdsworth's sweeping assertion be exact or not, surely any and all suggestions are welcome from a legal historian who himself, within the present century, has written the history of English law as a whole. Where can there be found a more stimulating example for America? As late as 1888 Professor Maitland delivered a lecture entitled, "Why the History of English Law Is Not Written."[12] A year later he quotes from another English writer to the effect that the task of writing the history of English law might perhaps be achieved by some of the antiquarian scholars of Germany or America, but that "it seems hardly likely that anyone in this country [England] will have the patience and learning to attempt it."[13] But Maitland did not share such pessimism, and his faith in his fellow English scholars seems almost prophetic, for hardly a decade had passed until Holdsworth began his colossal task.

Now, with his *magnum opus* completed, Holdsworth talks to America in the same tone in which Maitland spoke to England forty years ago. Here, then, is a challenge to American legal historians worthy of their best efforts. They cannot refuse to accept it. History will repeat itself.

12. Maitland, *loc. cit.*

13. *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 1.

THE PORTOLAN ATLASES OF AMERICAN INTEREST IN THE HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY AND ART GALLERY

BY HENRY R. WAGNER

THE late Mr. Huntington displayed such prodigious activity in the latter years of his life in accumulating books and manuscripts, that very few have any due comprehension of the contents of the library which he founded. It is true that there is a somewhat widely diffused knowledge of his acquisitions in the fields of English literature and early Americana, but of many of his other treasures little is known. Mr. Huntington not only bought books at auction and historic collections *en bloc,* but he also obtained some of his choicest material directly or indirectly from private individuals. Among such is a small collection of portolan atlases which comprises a Vallard, a Vaz Dourado, a Freire, a Martines, and four Agneses, a group of gems difficult to match in any other library in this country. To describe briefly such of these as are of American interest in order to make them better known, is my present purpose, especially as some have not been accessible to the public for a number of years.

Besides the atlases of American interest, there are six confined to the Mediterranean, Africa, and the European coast of the Atlantic. The collection also contains several portolan charts of great importance: namely, the famous "Richard King" chart, described by such eminent authorities as Dr. E. T. Hamy and Henry Harrisse; a chart of 1543, ascribed to Giovanni Benedetto; and a large English one of the latter half of the seventeenth century.

Before the discovery of America, all the territory comprised in the waterways of the Mediterranean and such as could be covered by vessels carrying on trade from that sea was usually drawn or painted on a single sheepskin, tanned and smoothed to make parchment. They are covered with lines, radiating as a rule from wind roses, and are usually referred to as normal portolans. Of what aid to navigation these lines and wind roses were has not yet been discovered. As these large pieces of vellum were somewhat unhandy, a practice grew up of dividing the maps into sections, overlapping just like sectional photographs of a large map. Several atlases composed of such maps exist, which were made before the new discoveries came to be included in them. I use the word maps and not charts because their chartlike form simply embodies a tradition inherited from the Middle Ages. It is not likely that any of them were used on board ship; they are not working charts, but just maps with or without decoration.

The earliest atlases to show the new discoveries were made, so far as I know, in 1536 by Battista Agnese, a Genoese then working in Venice. He seems to have been prompted to take up what soon became a business of considerable importance by the appearance of the Spanish planispheres in the third decade of the century. He took one of these maps, divided it into three sections, and then added the normal portolan in five or six more and an oval map of the world. This, his type No. 1, persisted until about 1543 when he added Francisco de Ulloa's discoveries in California and also changed his world maps to include the Peninsula of California. This type, which may be called No. 2, persisted with minor changes to as late as 1564, the last year in which he signed and dated any of his work. Between these years he produced a number of atlases, some dated and some undated, which contain, besides maps of type No. 2, others of very different style. Whether he made these or not is at present a moot question.

It is usually stated, and in a sense correctly, that his productions partake more of the nature of works of art than of cartographical documents. Many of them contain, before the maps, pages painted with a coat of arms, declination tables, and a zodiac, and no doubt all at the time of issue had some of these features. Everything about them indicates that they were made for people who were interested in the geography of the world and liked to have it in a small compact form, richly decorated. Most of his genuine early productions are drawn and painted with great artistic skill. Nevertheless, his maps of the New World and eastern Asia have more value than is usually ascribed to them, as he did not adhere to his first Spanish planisphere, but undoubtedly adopted changes which he found on later ones.

Agnese soon had competitors, and after 1550 the output of these portolan atlases became rather large. The business was almost entirely confined to Italy, where perhaps there were more people interested in the subject, although we find several Portuguese also engaged in it. As the century grew older, maps were added showing the interior regions of America, maps which nevertheless were still drawn on the conventional portolan model, and we also find in them an ever increasing number of land maps of Europe. In other words, the type was approaching that of the atlas of engraved maps which came into great vogue after 1570, when Abraham Ortelius launched his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*.

Note that the measurements of the maps given are only approximate, as in the same atlas these vary slightly in size. They are length by height, and include the maps proper and not the sheets on which they happen to be drawn, unless so stated. As almost all the atlases are undated, it has not been possible to follow a strictly chronological arrangement. The numbers are the library accession numbers.

AGNESE—H.M. 25

An atlas comprising ten maps measuring about 29.5 x 19.5 cm., a coat of arms, a declination table, and a double-page zodiac on vellum sheets. Although undated, it is of Agnese's type No. 1. The map of the world is interesting, America being of the Verrazano type. It shows, besides the lines of dots indicating the voyage to Peru and Magellan's voyage around the world, another line from France to Verrazano's isthmus and thence nearly to China, labeled the "viazo di franza."

This is one of the loveliest of his atlases, and came from the Phillipps collection, having been formerly in that of Heber.

AGNESE—H.M. 26

An atlas containing ten maps measuring about 29.5 x 19.5 cm., and a coat of arms, a declination table and an armillary sphere, and a zodiac, all on vellum. After the maps an unfinished hemisphere has been added, which covers that part of the world between the meridians passing through the City of Mexico and the mouth of the Arabian Gulf to the east. It is simply an enlargement without names of part of map No. 10, which covers the same territory. At the end there is a half sheet with a wind rose. This little atlas is of his type No. 2. The American maps are similar to those in another one of his in the Laurenziana in Florence dated February 12, 1543, and signed by him. On June 25, 1543, he produced an atlas, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, in which he added on map No. 1 a name on the Peninsula of California which was copied in all his later dated atlases. As that name is not found on the corresponding map in this atlas, it may be a fair inference that this was made between February 12 and June 25, 1543.

This atlas, with its most beautiful maps and ornamenta-

tions in a wonderful state of preservation, appeared in the Huth sale as No. 5,916 with no indication as to its provenance.

AGNESE—H.M. 10

This large atlas contains sixteen maps, measuring about 42.5 x 32 cm., besides a declination table, an armillary sphere, and a double-page zodiac. Maps Nos. 1-3, 5-8, 10, 12, and 16 are unquestionably of his type No. 2. The rest are maps of the countries depicted, with towns and rivers, and with many of the legends in Latin, and while similar to others found in atlases containing his maps, are so foreign to his usual style of work that we may be warranted in considering the atlas to be made up of the work of different artists rather than as a new Agnese type. Nothing is known of its provenance.

AGNESE—H.M. 27

A large atlas containing ten maps measuring about 46 x 29 cm., together with a dial and a coat of arms, a declination table and an armillary sphere, and a zodiac. On map No. 4 occurs the following inscription: "Baptista agnese fecit uenetij's anno dñi 1553 die VIIJ Julije." The back of the last map has been ruled and divided for a calendar. In the back binding a hole has been cut to hold an instrument, probably a compass, intended to operate through a wind rose which is drawn around the hole on a sheet of vellum pasted on the binding.

The maps are of type No. 2, with the exception that a little more to the west is shown on map No. 1 than on earlier maps of this type. Yucatan appears for the first time as a peninsula, in its present form, although on one dated 1545 it appears to be connected with the mainland.

The atlas came from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillipps, who, according to a note on the back of the front cover, obtained it at the Meerman sale. The work is not so artistic as in Agnese's small early atlases.

UNKNOWN—H.M. 46

This, No. 95 of Henry Yates Thompson's famous "Hundred Manuscripts," is strictly speaking not a portolan atlas, but only a large world chart. It is, however, folded and bound up with four small maps of Europe, and some nautical information in French, none of which has any connection with the chart. From the initials G.B. found written on the border, Henry Harrisse declared that it was the work of Giovanni Benedetto, an Italian cosmographer known to have been in the service of France between 1535 and 1540. The map is dated 1543 in an entirely different place. The chart presents two extraordinary features: first, an enormous extension of Java to the south; and second, an almost equal extension of Peru to the west. It has been frequently asserted that the extension of Java to the south, also found on maps Nos. 1 and 3 of the Vallard atlas, is simply a mistaken representation of a Portuguese discovery of Australia. Perhaps this is correct, but the entirely imaginary character of the extension of Peru does not inspire us with much confidence in the reality of such discoveries. As the Vallard maps do not show the west coast of South America below 10° S., we do not know what the maker of that atlas thought about the western extension of Peru on this chart.

JUAN FREIRE—H.M. 35

This is a small atlas of seven charts averaging in size about 35 x 27.7 cm. Taken together they constitute a map of the coasts of that part of the known world from between 03½° S. to perhaps 67° N., and from the east end of the Black Sea west to and including a small portion of the northeast coast of America. On No. 7, on which this latter feature is shown, there is an inscription in large letters—"Johamfreireafes"—and after this in small letters—"era de. 546." Much speculation has been indulged in about the meaning of the words in

small letters. Henry Harrisse was of the opinion that they either meant that Freire was still alive in 1546, or that he made it in that year. The latter appears to be without doubt the proper interpretation, as in an atlas in the Academy of Sciences in Lisbon signed by Lazaro Luis, he used the expression "en la era de mil de quinhētos de sesēta he tres anos." Here the word *era* obviously has the meaning of "year after Christ." The expression had been in common use in the Middle Ages in Spain, and perhaps in Portugal, to mean the year after Julius Caesar's birth.

No. 7 was reproduced in the catalogue of the Libri collection when sold in London in 1859. The atlas had previously been in the possession of an Englishman named Baron Taylor, and was first mentioned in a work published in Paris in 1841 by the Visconde de Santarem. At the Libri sale it evidently passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Phillipps, where it remained until acquired some years ago by Mr. Huntington.

VALLARD—H.M. 29

This famous atlas contains fifteen maps measuring about 49 x 37 cm., and 56 x 37 cm. outside the borders of the six which have them. Prefixed to the maps are eight pages with a sort of title with the name—"Nicolas Vallard de Dieppe, 1547"—and some nautical information. Maps Nos. 6, 9, 10, 11, and 12 show South and North America to a little beyond the meridian passing through Mexico City, and the rest cover the territory of the normal portolan and Asia as far east as the Moluccas, which are in the most primitive state. Nos. 1 and 3 exhibit a vast extension of Java to the south.

All the nautical material and many of the inscriptions on the maps are in French, as well as many of the place names, especially the *caps,* but the basis of them is Portuguese. The maps are highly decorated with scenes depicting the life in

various countries, very artistically drawn. The decorations of the last two are in different style from those of the first twelve, and there are indications that even these maps were not drawn by the same individual that drew the others. The borders of Nos. 1-5 are of distinctly different treatment from the decorations on the maps, and those of No. 10 appear to have been painted by still another individual. The opinion is quite general that Vallard did not draw the maps, but was merely the owner of the atlas, possibly the man for whom it was made.

On the flyleaf of the book, pasted on the back of the front cover, is a manuscript note—"ex. Bib. Kerr olim principis Talleyrand"—from which it appears that it had passed into the hands of Kerr at the Talleyrand sale in 1816, and from his into those of Sir Thomas Phillipps where it remained until acquired by Mr. Huntington.

FERNAN VAZ DOURADO—H.M. 41

This atlas contains seventeen double-page maps measuring about 51 x 39 cm. and three pages of nautical information at the end. Nos. 1-4, and Nos. 15-17 cover North and South America. Around each of the maps is a highly decorated border, some of which contain legends relating to the maps or the discoveries depicted on them. On No. 15 we find set down some of the real and purported discoveries of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos in 1543 and 1544.

Several atlases with similar maps exist, the earliest of which seems to be the one made in Goa on which it is stated that it was made by Fernan Vaz Dourado in 1568. There are others in the Torre do Tombo dated Goa, 1571, and in the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon, the British Museum, and in the Royal Library in Munich. The Huntington copy agrees best with the one in Munich, supposed to have been made in 1580, and from which Nos. 15 and 16 have been frequently repro-

duced, as they show the entire northwest coast of America and its extension as far as China, all purely imaginary beyond the discoveries of Ulloa, as no such coast exists in those latitudes.

The Huntington copy was formerly in the Huth collection and was stated in the sale catalogue, under No. 5,920, to have belonged at one time to the Archbishop of Toledo.

JOAN MARTINES—H.M. 33

This atlas contains fourteen maps on vellum sheets measuring about 35.5 x 24.25 cm., each map practically covering an entire sheet. Nos. 6-11 cover North and South America, the rest being of the normal portolan but including part of the Indian Ocean.

In an atlas, in the British Museum, of Joan Martines dated 1578, there is a map No. 10 almost identical with No. 11 of this atlas, and from the description of the others, it appears that they are much like corresponding ones in this atlas. In spite of the lack of the world map which is usually contained in atlases of Martines and which he frequently signed and dated, it is plain that this work is from his hand, and probably was made not far from 1578, the date of the one in the British Museum. It came to the Huntington Library from the Phillipps collection.

UNKNOWN—H.M. 28

An atlas containing eleven maps measuring about 38.25 x 25.25 cm. without indication of authorship and without date. The maps are misplaced in the volume; Nos. 6, 9, and 4 together cover the world, Nos. 2, 3, and 10 are world maps, and the rest constitute the normal portolan.

Nos. 6, 9, and 4 have a remarkable resemblance to three in the Huntington No. 10, but the three world maps are quite different, Nos. 2 and 10 being of the Gastaldi type and only No. 3 resembling the Agnese type. A noticeable difference,

however, between this and No. 10 consists in a general change of the place names on America from Spanish to Italian, and the further fact that there are no names on the Peninsula of California. In the John Carter Brown Library there is an atlas with world maps almost identical with this and also with Italian names. In both, the maps are of rare beauty, painted in blue and gold and with the names written in red and black in a very clear handwriting. It came from the Phillipps collection.

UNKNOWN—H.M. 39

A VERY large atlas containing eighteen maps drawn on double pages of paper measuring about 52.5 x 34 cm. in a large book, the rest of the pages being blank. North and South America are comprised on Nos. 3-7 and 16-18. A peculiarity of the atlas is the total lack of names on the northwest coast of America (except the one word California on the Gulf of Mexico), the north coast of South America, the south coast of Mexico and Central America, and on northeast South America. The atlas is somewhat different from any of the others; with the exception of Nos. 1 and 2, which are merely sketch maps of a part of No. 13, the maps comprise an entire world chart in sections with considerable overlap. It is of Portuguese origin, and in the catalogue of the Huth sale where it appeared as No. 5,917, it is said to have been drawn on native paper in Macao, probably in 1580. Why in Macao does not appear; Goa would be much more likely, and as for the date ascribed to it, about the only thing to indicate it is some detail about the Japanese Islands which betokens a somewhat better knowledge than usually displayed on earlier Portuguese maps.

UNKNOWN—H.M. 32

THIS atlas contains fourteen double-page maps on vellum, each map with its red borders covering almost a whole sheet,

and measuring about 46 x 32.5 cm. Maps Nos. 1-4 comprise all of South America and North America as far west as the City of Mexico and as far north as beyond the Bacallaos. The others are the normal portolan with a continuation as far east as Gilolo.

The atlas is a very peculiar one, strangely primitive in some respects and yet showing the Japanese Islands which did not generally appear on maps until near the end of the sixteenth century. The Spanish standards shown on Brazil and northeast America are another curious feature, while there are none on Labrador or the Bacallaos. The legends are in Spanish and so are many of the names on South America. The land parts are covered with strange-looking mountains spread about promiscuously. It came from the Phillipps collection.

UNKNOWN—H.M. 44

An atlas containing sixteen maps measuring about 33 x 44 cm. on sheets of vellum twice this size, and two pages of declination tables in Portuguese. Maps Nos. 1-6 and 14 comprise North and South America as far west as Cabo Nevado in 33° N. where the coast turns north-northeast and ends at 43°. As the Japanese Islands are shown on No. 16, it appears to be later than the Vaz Dourado map. The atlas which came from the Huth collection, No. 5,918 of the sale catalogue, is a very fine one, although not decorated except with wind roses and an occasional standard.

FRA MATHEO DE CHIARA—H.M. 217

This is a small atlas of only four charts, without graduations and with but few names. No. 4 is the only one which shows the New World, which it does in full, except at the south where it does not quite reach the Strait of Magellan. On No. 1 is an inscription to the effect that it was made by Fra Matheo de Chiara in the year 1519. The date, however, has

been altered and the maps could only have been drawn later. California is shown on No. 4 as high as 40°, and what few names are displayed on other parts of the map were not bestowed until some time after 1519. Possibly the date should be 1569.

NOTES ON THE BEGINNING OF A MIDWEST UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

BY FRANK K. WALTER

IN his message of January 7, 1851, to the territorial legislature of Minnesota, Governor Alexander Ramsey, in discussing the use of state lands, remarked, "As the endowment of a university will also naturally in this connection attract your attention, it might be proper to further memorialize Congress for a grant of one hundred thousand acres of land for this most desirable object." The legislature followed his suggestion. On February 19, 1851, Congress passed an act reserving "a quantity of land not exceeding two entire townships for the use and support of a university in said territory and for no other use or purpose whatsoever."

Six days before the approval of this act, the territorial legislature had passed an act to establish the University of Minnesota. Section 8 of this act of February 13, 1851, stated: "The Regents shall appoint a secretary, a treasurer, and a librarian who shall hold their respective offices during the pleasure of the board." May 31 of the same year, the Board of Regents met and appointed two of their number, William R. Marshall and Isaac Atwater, librarian and secretary, respectively. Mr. Marshall, who was governor of the state from 1866 to 1870 seems to have done little for the library. The first report of the regents, dated February 7, 1852, was signed by Isaac Atwater, secretary of the board. He mentions the completion of two rooms of a building intended to be used for the Academy of the University and notes the gift of "six volumes of the Annals of Congress previous to 1800" from the Smithsonian Institution and "also books and pamphlets from the Hon. H. H. Sibley." In the third report of the board,

Mr. Atwater says: "Through the liberality of a few active friends of the University, the nucleus of a valuable library has been formed. Its increase must depend upon the generosity of those disposed to aid in providing this indispensable requisite to the proper endowment of the institution." Mr. Atwater also urged that the legislature pass an act giving to the university library "one or more copies of the Revised Statutes, Supreme Court Reports, Session Laws and such public documents as may be deemed worthy of Preservation." For a two-room university of academy students this was a stout prescription.

The territory was no stranger to libraries. On September 4, 1849, Governor Ramsey, in his opening message to the first territorial legislature noted the purchase of a territorial library with $5,000 appropriated by Congress for that purpose. The catalogue of the library, printed in 1850, showed a strange collection, including a good working collection of English and American law and several of the "libraries" then so much in vogue and mostly bearing the imprint of Harper Brothers. Among these were the "Family Library" of 177 volumes, the "Classical Library" of 37 volumes, "Harpers New Miscellany" of 27 volumes, etc. There were also sets of Irving, Scott, and Cooper, a small collection of reference works and a small collection of miscellaneous works of a semi-popular character. The Minnesota Historical Society, with a library as one of its prospective departments, was chartered in 1849. The school law as amended by the assembly of 1852, gave the voters of every school district the power to levy a special tax, "not exceeding twenty dollars in any one year, for the purchase or increase of a district library, globes, maps, and such apparatus as the interest and well being of the school shall require. The library shall consist of such books as the district meeting shall direct." Though this

magnificent gesture could not be very effective on twenty dollars a year shared with other school activities, it showed at least a belief in libraries for the people and supported by them.

The St. Paul Library Club was formed September 16, 1857. In 1863 its library was combined with that of the Young Men's Christian Association to form the St. Paul Library Association Library, which in 1882 became the St. Paul Public Library. The first librarian of the Association Library was Edward Eggleston. Its printed catalogue of 1864 listed 3,134 volumes.

In 1859 the Minneapolis Athenaeum was founded with the proceeds of a lecture given by Bayard Taylor for the benefit of a library for the city. This was afterward merged, but with an autonomous organization, with the Minneapolis Public Library. It is especially appropriate to note here that Dr. Herbert Putnam laid the foundations of his later professional reputation by his service as Librarian of the Athenaeum, 1884-87, and of the Public Library, 1887-91.

Unfortunately for the University, its finances were in bad shape. It remained a preparatory school, with no courses beyond. Private funds erected the building. The library was composed entirely of donations, as far as any available records indicate. Secretary Atwater bravely reported in the fifth report of the regents in 1856: "Through the exertions of the Hon. H. M. Rice about forty volumes of valuable Congressional works have been added during the past season to the library of the institution. Other gentlemen have also made donations making the aggregate number of volumes received nearly fifty." Then, carrying the war into Africa, he adds: "I would suggest, in this connection, the propriety of passing an Act requiring the Secretary to annually furnish for the library of the University, copies of the laws, and

legislative documents, which it is important should belong to the institution." All this in face of the fact that even the control of the one frame building passed out of the regents' hands May 26 of the same year that this stout suggestion was made, and that actual school work under their control had been stopped about a year before.

The character of the proposed library—federal and state documents—scarcely harmonizes with the courses offered in the academy under Professor Merrill: "Classes in penmanship and all the common English branches. . . . Also . . . classes every quarter in the higher branches usually taught in academies, including Algebra, Astronomy, Latin, French, Physiology, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Analyses, and Book-keeping."

From August, 1855, till the dissolution of the old Board of Regents in 1860, the fate of the library is hidden. In an additional report made to the legislature in 1860, Secretary Atwater mentions no university library, but plaintively remarks, "None of the officers have received any compensation for their services (with the exception of the Rev. Mr. Riheldaffer as above stated) [$404.85 salary as treasurer] although the by-laws allow a compensation to the Secretary, Treasurer and Librarian." At any rate, the state received a full equivalent for its expenditures for library service.

February 1, 1860, an act of the state legislature abolished the former Board of Regents and established a new one in somewhat different form. The new board met January 10, 1861. In the analysis of the financial accounts of the regents prior to that date, which forms a part of the report of this meeting, there is no indication of the purchase of any books for the University. At a meeting on April 5, 1861, it was "Resolved, That the Secretary of the Board (Hon. Uriah Thomas) call upon the late Secretary and Treasurer and pro-

cure the minutes, papers, seal, library books and all other documents belonging to the University."

No record of the results of this visit are extant. What books, if any, were turned over is unknown. In none of the available records of the regents from this time to their report of December 23, 1867, to the legislature of the session of 1868, is there any indication of books on hand or purchased. Inasmuch as there had been no university teaching, this lack of library growth is not surprising. In the report to the legislature of 1868, the reopening of a preparatory department under Prof. W. W. Washburn is noted and in the financial accounts is included this item: "The cost of books, maps and advertising, $315.70." In a more detailed report the purchase of a set of the *American Encyclopedia* in sixteen volumes for $72 is noted.

In their report of December 22, 1868, the regents note: "There is also great need of a library—at least of a collection of works of reference in ancient and modern history, natural science and English literature." This is an echo of a more detailed note by Principal Washburn. This is quoted at length as indicative of a not uncommon school library condition of sixty years ago.

> The institution is very much in need of a library—a need which is felt by both the faculty and the students every day. We have a few books of which the most important are Appleton's Cyclopedia, a few directories, 40 volumes of the Annals of Congress,[1] 10 volumes of the Congressional Globe, 10 volumes of the Reports of the Smithsonian Institution and a small collection of miscellaneous documents. We need at once $2,000 or $3,000 worth of reference books. By corresponding with the libraries of the older institutions of the East, duplicate copies of the more common works could be procured at a very small expense and the sum above mentioned judiciously expended would enable us to make a very good beginning of a library which would quite well meet the present demands of the school.

1. Did these include the ten volumes of the early collection?

In a recent talk with Dr. W. W. Folwell, first President of the University, he expressed the belief that none of the books collected for the University during the territorial *régime* came to it from Mr. Atwater. He thought that the few that were in Old Main when the University was formally opened in 1869 were all collected during the brief reorganization period of 1867-69. The original collection, he thought, passed into the keeping of Hon. John H. Stevens of the territorial Board of Regents and were probably taken by him, during the period the university activities were suspended, to the small public library at Glencoe, where Stevens lived in his latter years. It has not been possible to verify this recollection.

The appendix to the report of December 22, 1868, mentions as donations to the library, Owen's *Geological Survey of the North West* in two volumes given by Ignatius Donnelley, of Atlantis and Baconian cipher fame, and three lots of state and federal documents. The same report opposes the proposal to establish separate branches of the University and cites the advantages of a centralized library as an argument in favor of a unified university.

On August 23, 1869, the regents elected William Watts Folwell President of the University and Professor of Mathematics. September 11, the University opened and a freshman class of fourteen began the first real collegiate work of the University. They were kept from loneliness by the company of 216 preparatory students, "146 gentlemen and 70 ladies."

President Folwell at once began to urge a better library as one of the needed reforms. In his remarkably prophetic inaugural address, delivered December 22, 1869, he prophesied:

> The university will accumulate and maintain a great library, to which citizens can resort for complete information on any useful subject. Next to the instruction, the library is the great interest of the university. . . . To such a library as will some day exist here, can

resort not only the scholar, and the learned author, but the historian, the statistician, the legislator, the editor, the manufacturer and the inventor, to consult those works which are beyond reach of private means.

This broad view of the function and content of a university library was only slowly shared by the regents and the legislature. In a reprint of this address issued in 1909, Dr. Folwell, still hopeful even if disillusioned, added this note: "All the books now owned by the institution do not exceed 120,000. This number ought to be quadrupled in the next decade." As a matter of fact it required seventeen years instead of a decade to reach this mark.

The regents' report dated the day after this inaugural address, echoes this need. It states:

> On account of the lack of funds no books have been purchased for the library during the past year. There is, however, pressing need of a large addition to our present meagre supply. The faculty have presented the Regents with a list of two to three thousand dollars worth of books, which are pronounced absolutely indispensable for the present requirements of the University. . . . There is no respect in which our University compares so unfavorably with other liberally endowed institutions as in the capacity of the library; and if we expect to deter young men from seeking other colleges where there is ready access to the literature and learning of the world, it must be done by providing them with an abundant and well selected collection of works in all the departments of human knowledge.

An amusing incident, locally famous in the early days of the University, illustrates certain aspects of library policy in the early postbellum days. A few days after President Folwell's arrival at the University, in September, 1869, Prof. Arthur Beardsley informed him that there was a room on the top floor of Old Main (the first permanent building of the University), at the northeast end, which had on it a sign, "Library and reading room." There were a few books in it—the collection noted by Principal Washburn in his report al-

ready quoted. Professor Beardsley already held the comprehensive chair of Civil Engineering and Industrial Mechanics and in addition taught many subjects in the preparatory department. Nevertheless, he was so interested in getting the students to read that he offered to take charge of the library without pay. His offer was accepted.

The next day Professor Beardsley went up to begin to put the library in order and found the door locked. Following a custom rather common in college buildings of the period he kicked in the door and began to arrange the library.

In the meantime a Mr. Campbell, a relative of Professor Campbell of the faculty who was also a close friend of Regent Pillsbury had, unknown to President Folwell, been appointed librarian by Mr. Pillsbury at a salary now unknown. He protested Beardsley's appointment, but in view of Beardsley's gratuitous services, Campbell's protest was not sustained and he soon left to go to the University of Michigan in some capacity not recorded in the Minnesota archives. Soon after, President Folwell added the title of librarian to that of president and retained it until his final retirement from the faculty in 1906.

The description of the reading room in the first report of the President is also interesting in its insistence on proper location and equipment. The report says:

> Situated as it [the reading room] is, at the far end of the uppermost hall of the building, the room is too much out of the way to be numerously patronized. I suppose the average number of readers has been about twelve per day, mostly young men who have rooms in the building. I would suggest that hereafter the greater part of the funds appropriated be invested in scientific and literary journals and reviews of high character and of permanent value, to the exclusion of all sectarian papers, which can generally be obtained gratuitously as desired.

The report of November 30, 1871, notes that $4,000 of the

$10,000 appropriated for the repair and equipment of the university building was spent for books. It would be hard today to find a tax-supported college which would spend 40 per cent of its first cash appropriation for its library. Professor Campbell, while on a European trip, purchased nearly three thousand volumes in literature, science, and art for the university library, which had grown to nearly five thousand volumes. It was proudly described as "the finest and most complete in the state" and larger space was asked for it. The publication of a short title catalogue, modeled on that of the Boston Public Library and compiled chiefly by President Folwell and Professors Twining and Beardsley, was announced. Two hundred and twenty-six volumes from a wide range of donors are noted and thirteen journals—all but one, *The Nation,* being donations—are listed. This was a large increase of donations over that of the previous year when only ninety volumes, from three donors, Col. W. H. H. Taylor, Col. Richard Chute, and the Minnesota Historical Society, were noted. The last-named gave, among its seventy-four gifts, a number of textbooks, volume two of Davidson's Vergil and volumes 6, 7, and 12 of *Explorations and Surveys for a Railroad from the Mississippi River to the Pacific Ocean.* Colonel Taylor hastened to the rescue with volumes 1-5 and 8-10 of this formidable set and Colonel Chute filled the last gap by presenting volume 11. In 1873 the private library of former President Tappan of the University of Michigan was purchased. It numbered about twenty-five hundred volumes and brought the total of the university library to about ten thousand volumes. The next year the report shows thirty-four journals, mostly of rather high grade and only nine donated, and a discontinuance of most of the local newspapers previously taken.

By this time the library was on fairly firm foundations. Its

cash resources were scanty, but the purchases were selective. President Folwell was diligent in adding public documents and other material of historic value. Although twenty years were to elapse before the erection of a library building in which the library proper had a major share, and nearly fifty before a building primarily devoted to the library was provided, the library had found its place and its progress though usually slow and sometimes temporarily arrested was fairly steady.

THE PHOTOSTAT

BY JAMES BENJAMIN WILBUR

TEN years ago when one spoke of a photostat it was necessary to give a full and detailed description before much interest could be aroused. The first experimenting with the machine was in 1909 and the first machines were placed on the market in 1910.

Among the strongly entrenched prejudices to combat and overcome was the deep-rooted idea that photography was necessarily a very expensive, as well as a very slow, process. The word photography suggested to the professional and popular mind the use of heavy glass plates or films that dried slowly before prints could be made on paper. The professional photographer and the professional blue printer were both opposed to the photostat because of fear that it would take away part of their business.

Among the earliest uses were the copying of policy applications and medical examinations to be attached to and form part of the life-insurance policies. The state laws were very definitely worded so that the copies of applications should be exactly correct in every detail; and of course the facsimile reproduction was incontestable.

Soon after the first photostats were in commercial use, the apparatus was brought to the attention of the Commission on Economy and Efficiency which had been appointed by the President of the United States. The commission made a special report which was printed on the authority of the United States Senate. The use of the photostat was thereafter gradually and very generally adopted by all departments of the United States Government.

At the same time banks, railroads, electric lighting com-

panies, telephone companies, machinery manufacturers, fire insurance companies, surety companies, designing and construction engineers, attorneys, illustrators, architects, and map makers all found that they, too, had a genuine need for photostat prints, and in addition to all these, photostat copying companies were started to serve the occasional user in every populous center of the country. The use of photostat copies has spread pretty generally around the world.

In deciding upon the adoption of the photostat system of copying as an essential of the daily routine of business, the various companies asked themselves among other questions whether, if they installed the photostat, they could rely upon its output. The machine itself gave the first answer to this question, and the supplementary, though possibly the more important one, of source of supply for operating material, was answered by the undertaking of the Eastman Kodak Company to supply the paper for use in the apparatus. It was justly felt that the Photostat Corporation, through its cooperative contract with the Eastman Kodak Company, could be relied upon to provide the necessary operating supply.

Quality and uniformity of product were also recognized as essential considerations. All the skill and resources of the Eastman Kodak Company have been exerted to produce the best possible photographic paper of uniform quality. Suggestions of all users have been encouraged, and have been promptly and thoroughly considered and tested, and the paper has been given, in every possible degree, the characteristics requested by the users, provided only the high standard of quality was to be maintained. Photostat paper is distributed to every corner of the United States and to every continent upon the globe, and while it is always hoped it will be used up inside of six months at the latest, there are times when it is necessary to keep and use it after much longer pe-

riods of storage under the most exacting climatic conditions. It may be on the Atlantic seaboard in the dog days of summer, or in the blistering heat of Africa or Asia, or the zero weather of Russia, Norway, or Canada that the paper will be used, and it must be ready to ship from stock when called for. An extreme instance is paper that was sent to France during the war, was stored in barracks, in railway cars, or in trucks, returned to this country, and used to make acceptable prints seven or eight years later.

In 1924, in considerable haste, it was decided in Cook County, Illinois, that photographic recording should be adopted. The Photostat Corporation was requested to supply machines and service. It induced the Eastman Kodak Company to undertake the coating of photographing paper on both sides. This necessity caused the birth of what the Corporation calls the photostat recorder, which prints on both sides of the paper. The base paper which is used for this recording work is an all rag ledger paper such as had been made in this country for over sixty years for record work, and which is apparently indestructible from ordinary use and handling. When adopted for the photostat recorder, this paper is coated with photographic emulsion on both sides, and the emulsion protects the surface of the paper from the abrasions of grime and dirt and grease from human handling, and this adds still greater strength and lasting properties. This paper has been nailed on the floor of a corridor in a public building and walked over like a door mat. This of course is an extreme, and, in fact, an absurd test.

Photostat prints have been put to most exhaustive tests to prove that they would not fade. They have been fastened upon the outside of skylights where they have been beaten upon by wind and rain and sun, but they have not faded, so the scientific experimenters have estimated that under these

conditions they have had the equivalent of the wear and exposure they might receive in two thousand years. It is further known that prints made in the photostat way have been in existence for over forty years without fading and are still in good condition today.

This method of recording, since its adoption in Chicago, is now practiced in thirty-nine cities in fourteen states. Banks use the photostat for copies of notes, bonds, stock certificates, canceled checks, accountings, wills, charts, drafts, investment sheets, trading accounts, and signature cards.

Railroads copy waybills, bills of lading, claims, tax valuations, vouchers, rate schedules, profiles, plans, court exhibits, and blue prints. Some of the "slogans" culled from letters of users are: "Photostat copies do not require the careful checking necessary for hand copying"; "Ever ready to perform the work in the least possible time"; "It is photography simplified, cheapened, and made error proof"; "362,000 sheets were turned out in seventy-five days"; "Copies will stand in court."

The manufacturers of the photostat did not at first appreciate what a tremendous boon it was to prove to the historian. Historians and researchers had for years been anxious for the facility for making reproductions which the photostat affords.

The scholar, collector, or investigator might, we will say, be working in California, Wisconsin, or Florida, and find that he needed the copy of a title-page, or a few pages from a rare book, or an essay, or a print, or a map, or a manuscript, or a broadside from a collection located in New England, New York, or Ann Arbor. It had been possible of course to have photographs made in the ordinary way, but this was too expensive for broad use. On the other hand the photostat copies can be made so easily and so inexpensively that they make facsimile copies generally and widely available.

There was a slight resistance at first on the part of the

curator who felt he wished his unique original to be the lodestone which would bring all who were interested to his institution. The broader and more generous attitude soon prevailed, however, and the interchange of photostat copies is now very general among all libraries and historical societies. No matter where one is working, he can send to any of the libraries and obtain photostat copies of the material he wishes to examine, whether it be a single page or a whole book.

The rare and exceedingly entertaining old files of newspapers are being completed by the interchange of unique copies from institution to institution, and in the same way sets of maps and prints are filled out so that in many places, instead of one place, there are combination sets of the original and photostat copies, so that the individual or the institution thus obtains the second best form of a specimen, that is, a facsimile reproduction.

Among the first, if not the first, to recognize the great merit of this process was the Library of Congress. They installed a photostat in the library in February, 1912. One had been tested by them since the previous November. This machine made a print 11¼″ x 13¾″. It produced the first year 8,459 prints, and the second year the demand nearly doubled, to 16,811 prints. In 1914 a second machine was installed, making a print 17¾″ x 21¾″. The third year 20,712 prints were made. Both of these machines are still in use. A number 3 machine has since been installed and still another has been ordered.

In the year ending June 30, 1928, the three machines in use produced 60,282 prints. In addition the library has its own machines of the largest size working in the British Museum and the Public Record Office in London, reproducing manuscripts pertaining to American history; and in France it is reproducing manuscripts on a one inch square film that is afterward enlarged.

The Public Library of New York installed its first machine in 1912, and now has three. For the first complete year it filled some thirteen hundred orders. In 1927 it filled 10,525 orders, and received for the work $21,342.44. The orders and receipts for 1928 will exceed those of the previous year.

Mr. George Parker Winship, when librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, was the independent pioneer in the application of photostat copies to the completion of collections. Through his initiative all the early broadsides relating to or printed in Rhode Island, which have been available, have been reproduced by photostat copies, and other libraries for a nominal subscription have been supplied with these prints. Another set of collections, which he initiated and which is being distributed by subscription, is the reproduction by photostat prints of the Newport *Mercury*. The work of thus reproducing this series of colonial newspapers is still continuing.

Mr. Alexander J. Wall, of the New York Historical Society, on one occasion made a rather exceptional use of the photostat when he printed a Revolutionary orderly book. In this case the type was set up entirely from photostat prints. As the book was very plainly written, it did not put too great a responsibility upon the printer to be sure that the copy was correctly read. This Society now possesses originals or photostat copies of every newspaper issued in New York from 1725 to 1783.

Some forty-two libraries in the United States now own and operate photostats.

Mr. George S. Godard, of the Connecticut State Library, among his other varied activities is having, at the option of the towns, all the old probate records collected in his library at Hartford, where he has photostat copies made. He then sends the photostat copies to the towns so that they still have

the complete files and the originals are stored in a central location.

In the Boston State House in the archives division they have been in the process, for a number of years, of reproducing by the photostat some two hundred thousand manuscripts, including letters, deeds, etc., pertaining to Massachusetts and dated between the years 1625 and 1800.

One of the primary uses for the photostat upon its installation at the Columbia University Library was for the reproduction of Chinese work. They also supplied by photostat reproduction the missing pages from the first edition of Milton's Εἰκονοκλάστες.

One of the first large pieces of important research copying done by the New York Public Library was the reproduction by photostat copies of three unique books in the Timuquana language of Florida. This work was done for the Bureau of American Ethnology at Washington. The books were printed in Mexico in 1612, 1613, and 1635. They are a portion of the collection of the New York Historical Society. They have also added through photostat copies to their reserve collection Roger Sherman's pamphlet on bills of credit, entitled: *A Caveat against Injustice,* New York, 1752, from one of two known copies; Peter Hasenclever's book on the iron industry in New Jersey and New York, London, 1773; a number of the Nez Percé Indian books printed on the Clear Water Mission Press at Lapwai, Oregon Territory (now Idaho), in 1839-45; and several books on the Indian sign language.

At the University of Michigan they have by photostat copies reproduced the entire file of the *Detroit Gazette* and the first fourteen years of the *Kentucky Gazette.*

In the field of bibliography there is sometimes uncertainty as to the exact identity of a volume when there is only a catalogue description from which to identify it. This is no criticism of the catalogues. Of necessity a catalogue is but a brief

description, and of course a cataloguer cannot be personally familiar with all volumes. Where the catalogue description leaves any uncertainty, the library now sends for a photostat copy of the title-page of the volume, and thus obtains a positive identification, and in compiling its list can say with authority which volume can be found at this library, and which can be found in that collection.

When Worthington C. Ford first saw a photostat at the John Carter Brown Library he at once recognized its importance. For the first two years that the photostat was installed in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Mr. Ford and an assistant operated it. Their first work was to reproduce the *Boston News Letter* owned by the New York Historical Society. In Mr. Ford's "Ten Years of the Photostat," published in the Massachusetts Historical Society *Proceedings,* April, 1925, he states: "The undertaking which has made the greatest return to history and bibliography" was the reproduction by photostat, 1919 to 1928, of two hundred and twenty rare books, the originals being in London, Paris, Brussels, Venice, Milan, Turin, Lisbon, Rome, Munich, Göttingen, Seville, and Madrid, as well as American libraries. These were distributed to ten subscribing libraries, and they now have for the use of students these rare books, fourteen having been printed in the fifteenth century, and all so rare that by no possibility could they hope to own an original.

It is interesting to note that since the installation of the photostat in the Massachusetts Historical Society they have produced 300,700 prints at a total cost of $71,244, and have received in payment, $71,359. This displays the proper and generous spirit in which this department of the Society has been conducted.

More and more are librarians realizing the importance of having a photostat as part of the library's equipment, and soon no library of importance will be without one.

LIBRARY CONDITIONS AND OBJECTIVES IN THE SOUTH

BY LOUIS R. WILSON

AMERICA recognizes the modern library as one of its major educational agencies. In this paper it is my purpose to describe the setting or background of the library movement in the South, to sketch its beginnings in the 1890's and its growth during three decades, to measure its progress in the light of national standards, and to suggest such measures as may increase the effectiveness of the library as an instrument for the development of a highly complex and enlightened southern civilization.

I. SOUTHERN LIBRARY SETTING

THE more important influences which have affected library growth in the South are easily recognized. The South has been predominantly rural and from the invention of the cotton gin until the Civil War its economic and social ideals were largely aristocratic. Its principal industry, agriculture, has involved the eight or ten million negroes, who constitute one-third of its total population, and has given rise to a system of farm tenancy which makes difficult any social or educational advance. A high per cent of illiteracy, a reluctance on the part of the South to tax itself, low *per capita* wealth, poorly developed schools and systems of transportation, lack of money with which to meet the offers of the Carnegie Corporation for library buildings, inability of southern universities to establish and maintain library schools and effective centers of library interest have been deterring causes and have greatly retarded the development of an aggressive library-mindedness throughout the South. It should also be borne in

mind that the South has had no state-wide or section-wide evangelism in behalf of libraries comparable to that in behalf of schools, roads, health, and home and agricultural improvement.

II. THE BEGINNING OF THE LIBRARY MOVEMENT

Library development on an extensive modern basis may be said to have begun in the South in the late nineties. From an article, summarizing library development in the South, which I contributed to *The World's Work* for June, 1907, I quote or summarize as follows: "Ten years ago . . . there was no clearly defined, well-organized library movement in the South. The free public library . . . was scarcely known. But the modern library—school, public, college, and traveling—has, since 1896, established itself as an institution making for saner life and broader culture."

Public libraries were referred to in this fashion: "At the end of December, 1906, twenty . . . Carnegie Libraries, representing $537,000 in buildings, were in operation in Texas. Since 1897, Durham, Raleigh, Greensboro, Asheville, Charlotte, and other North Carolina towns . . . have established public libraries, and during the year 1906 the five towns just named recorded loans totaling 200,000 volumes among 25,000 borrowers. In 1905-6, Virginia and Arkansas established their first free public libraries. Within the past six months, Atlanta has received $30,000 for two additional branch libraries, Louisville $200,000 for eight similar branch stations, and the New Orleans library is just finishing its $200,000 quarters."

Fifty to sixty thousand dollar library buildings seemed to be the prevailing fashion among colleges and universities during the decade. The Rotunda at Virginia, destroyed by fire, was restored at a cost of $60,000 and the twelve-thousand-volume collection saved from the fire had grown to sixty

thousand. Trinity College (now Duke University) had received a $55,000 building as a gift from Mr. Duke, and its book collection had grown from eleven thousand in 1899 to thirty-seven thousand in 1907. The University of North Carolina completed a $55,000 building in 1907 and added $55,000 to the library endowment. The Universities of Georgia and Louisiana had completed similar buildings during the decade and were laying the foundations for their expanding service.

Other significant evidences of the dawning of a general library consciousness were to be seen in the provision of rural school libraries containing a total of two million volumes by 1911; the formation in seven states of library associations; the voluntary establishment of traveling libraries by the Federation of Women's Clubs; the holding of inspirational meetings of the American Library Association at Atlanta in 1899 and Asheville in 1907; and the founding of the Carnegie Library School in Atlanta in 1905.

III. RECENT LIBRARY ACHIEVEMENT

RECENT growth in the various fields of library activity may be indicated as follows:

1. *School Libraries.* The most significant step taken in the development of school libraries was the adoption in 1927 of a set of library standards for the high schools of the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States which insure effective school-library service. Requirements for special library rooms and equipment, adequate book funds, trained personnel, increased book holdings, and instruction of all pupils in the use of library materials now take the place of the former single requirement concerning number of volumes.

Other evidences of school-library growth are: standards not quite so high as those adopted by the Association have been put into effect in the state systems of Virginia, North

Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee; provision has been made in North Carolina for accrediting library courses taken by teachers, both for certification as teachers and as public-school librarians; school libraries in Virginia contain 750,000 volumes and are supplemented annually by means of a book fund of $60,000; Florida has recently completed a survey of school libraries; the Alabama Department of Education has established a school-library division; and courses for school librarians have been provided in summer schools and otherwise at the Universities of North Carolina, Virginia, Florida, Tennessee, and Louisiana, George Peabody College, North Carolina College for Women, and other institutions.

2. *Public and County Libraries.* Remarkable growth has taken place in the public-library field since 1907. The new public-library building at Houston, Texas, completed in 1926, cost as much as the twenty Carnegie libraries which were erected in Texas prior to 1907, the circulation of the Charlotte Public Library last year trebled that of the five largest libraries in North Carolina twenty-one years ago. Birmingham and Mobile recently completed buildings costing $750,000 and $300,000, respectively. Richmond, for many years the largest city in America without a public library, is now erecting a $500,000 building and maintaining an effective service. The populations of fifty counties in widely separated sections of the South have contracted for county service with such city libraries as Houston, Birmingham, Greenville, Chattanooga, and Charlotte, and all along the line per capita library support and circulation have reached higher levels.

3. *College Libraries.* Eleven southern university libraries spent the following amounts in 1927-28 for books, periodicals, and bindings: Alabama, $14,200; Florida, $17,113; Georgia, $6,300; Louisiana, $17,600; Mississippi, $4,000; North Caro-

lina, $43,000; Tennessee, $13,850; Texas, $35,000; Tulane, $17,623; Vanderbilt, $15,273; Virginia, $11,070. It is very doubtful that the book fund of any one of these institutions except Texas amounted to as much as $5,000 prior to 1907. Within the past two years new buildings or extensive additions have been provided at William and Mary, East and West Teachers Colleges of Tennessee, Winthrop, and the University of South Carolina, Wesleyan of Georgia, the University and College for Women of Florida. New buildings occupied within the past three years for the coördinate college at Duke and for Louisiana State and Emory have cost over a total of $1,000,000. Sweet Briar has been given $185,000 for a new building, Alabama College for Women, Mississippi College for Women, and the University of Tennessee are actively planning extensive plants. The University of Richmond has announced that its next major building will be a library to cost $500,000, and the University of North Carolina is now completing the first unit of a library building costing $625,000, its book collection having increased from forty-five thousand volumes in 1907 to two hundred thousand in 1928.

4. *Library Commissions.* The library commission, the state agency for general library promotion and similar in that respect to the state department of education, appeared first in Georgia in 1898, but without supporting funds. North Carolina's commission was established in 1909 with an annual appropriation for promotional services of $1,500, which has grown to $25,000. Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi have established commissions within the past three years, South Carolina being the only southern state now without such an agency.

5. *Library Associations.* Between 1897 and 1907 only three states had failed to organize library associations, and at present all have them, and all are affiliated with the American

Library Association. In addition, two regional groups of librarians comprising the Southeastern and Southwestern Library Associations have been organized and have held five and three biennial meetings, respectively. These organizations bring representatives from every section together for the consideration of every phase of library activity, and evidences of their effectiveness are to be found in heightened morale, in the establishment of the commissions in Florida and Mississippi, in the holdings of district meetings in Tennessee, Florida, Virginia, and North Carolina, in a state-wide campaign now beginning in North Carolina for a general library movement, in the setting up of the high-school library standards sponsored by the Southeastern Library Association, and in the recognition by all of the individual associations of the need of a vigorous library evangelism in every state.

6. *Library Schools.* The greatest influence for library advancement in the South has been the Carnegie Library School of Atlanta, now affiliated with Emory University. For twenty-three years it has supplied, in large measure, the trained library workers for our college and public libraries. In September of this year departments of library science for the training of school and teacher librarians were begun at the North Carolina College for Women, the University of Tennessee, and Peabody, and summer courses in library subjects are given at the Universities of North Carolina, Georgia, Virginia, Louisiana, Tennessee, at Peabody, Winthrop, and other institutions. A library school for negroes has been established at Hampton Institute by the Carnegie Corporation and is generously supported with scholarships by the General Education Board.

7. *Work with Negroes.* The establishment of the Hampton Library School has marked the beginning of effective library service for negroes. Three classes, composed largely of

librarians in colleges and training schools, have been graduated and are now in service. Through the Rosenwald Fund thirteen southern state normal schools have been assisted in securing book funds ranging from $1,500 at Tuskegee to $8,000 at Winston-Salem and in each state in the South a limited number of the more than four thousand Rosenwald schools have secured book collections. Plans for additions to the library buildings at Hampton and Fisk are under consideration, and supervision of the library effort of negro schools is being supplied through representatives of state departments of education and library commissions. An excellent list of books for these schools has been prepared by the Hampton Library School faculty, and some experimental library work with negro school systems has been done by the public libraries at Greenville, Charlotte, Nashville, and other cities.

8. *Trained Personnel.* In 1904, when the North Carolina Library Association was organized, only three of the thirty-one charter members had had any formal library training. The situation was typical of the South as a whole. Today, training for one or two years after college graduation is generally recognized as indispensable for effective library service.

IV. ATTAINMENT IS BELOW NATIONAL STANDARDS

As a result of numerous studies and public statements concerning the status of public education in the South, it is generally recognized that, while progress has been little short of marvelous since 1920, even yet southern attainment is not up to national standards. Terms are not as long, teachers have not, as a rule, been as well trained or well paid, and the amount spent per pupil has not been as high as elsewhere. Colleges and universities also have not received as adequate support as similar institutions in other sections. But, while this is true, it has not been generally recognized or considered

a matter of significance that attainment in the library field has been on a lower level than that of the school.

Judged by national standards, in spite of its advance, the library in the South is strikingly deficient as follows: 71 per cent of the South's population is entirely without public library facilities. The per cent for the country at large is 43. In Massachusetts and California, library facilities are available to every community. The average *per capita* expenditure for public library service for the nation is thirty-three cents; for California, one dollar and eight cents. In the South it ranges downward from eighteen cents in Florida to four cents in North Carolina, and two cents in Mississippi. If all the volumes in the public libraries of Massachusetts were distributed equally among its citizens, each man, woman, and child would receive two books. If North Carolina's public-library holdings were divided in similar fashion, each North Carolinian would receive one-twentieth of a book. *Per capita* circulation of books in California is twenty times greater than in Virginia and forty times greater than in Arkansas. The number of books in college and university libraries in Connecticut is eight times greater than in North Carolina, and twenty times greater than in Arkansas. Graduate students at Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Illinois, and Michigan have at their disposal book collections ranging from 2,625,000 to 650,000, while the collections at Texas, North Carolina, Virginia, Tulane, Vanderbilt, and Georgia range from 400,000 to 65,000, and largely lack the bibliographical apparatus essential to research and investigation. Forty-six of the fifty-eight counties in California have county libraries with book-truck or deposit-station service to every community, school, and individual. Of the 1,151 counties of the South, only fifty have county library service, and in these it is far more limited than in California.

V. LIBRARY OBJECTIVES

If the South is to have library service in full measure, it must strive for the following objectives:

1. It must come to a full understanding of the value of the library as an institution, of the part it takes in education. At present it has not come to it. The school and college leaders must lift their eyes from the daily routine of administration and see how effectively it is being used in other sections as a primary agency in all elementary, secondary, and higher education. For the pupil in the school and the student in the college and university, the library must afford the means of study and investigation. It must largely take the place of the textbook and the lecture, both as a method of study and a means of acquiring knowledge. The acquisition of facility in reading and ability to understand materials drawn from a variety of sources must be recognized as possibly of more importance than the acquisition of mere ability to read. The librarian must be conceived of, not merely as a person skilled in the technicalities of cataloguing and classification and circulation of books, but rather as a teacher who teaches through the use of books and other library materials. And the use of the library must be thought of as important, not only to the pupil in school or college, but to everyone as an after-school institution to the end of life. Education is a lifelong process, and, as the South wins greater economic independence and leisure, it will be tragic if its population—adult and juvenile alike—does not bring to bear upon its thinking and living all that the library has to offer of fineness and power.

2. The South must develop to the utmost the county library as its most effective agency for public library service. The county library in California has demonstrated beyond all peradventure of doubt that it is ideally fitted for providing full service for rural, agricultural communities such as con-

stitute almost the entire South. A strong central tax-supported free library in the county seat or principal town, cost what it may, should be charged with all professional, technical, and mechanical processes of library procedure, and in complete coöperation with schools, city and county, and white and colored, should utilize branches, schools, deposit stations, book wagons, book post, and all other means which experience has demonstrated as best in making service effective to everyone.

3. The South must make provision for the training of an adequate supply of effective library administrators and leaders. Of the twenty-one library schools of the country which have graduated over 4,500 students, only two are located in the South—one for whites at Atlanta, which has graduated approximately 225 students, and one for negroes at Hampton which has graduated approximately twenty-five students. If schools of education and law in the South are necessary for the training of teachers and lawyers, it is equally true that adequately staffed and equipped library schools should be established on the campuses of three or four of the major universities of the South for the training of university, college, and public librarians, and that adequate provision should be made for the training of teacher-librarians through teachers colleges and summer schools. This constitutes the most effective opportunity the South can avail itself of for the development of a vitally functioning library system.

4. The day has come in the South for state aid for the promotion of library service. This, in most limited fashion, has been supplied through library commissions and book funds for schools. But these promoting agencies should have available stimulating funds exactly as have the state departments of education, and agriculture, and public health. The

amounts available to the commissions—$5,000 to $10,000 in the majority of cases—are utterly inadequate when compared with the proportions and importance of the task, or the achievement of California where every man, woman, and child in the state enjoys the use of library facilities provided through a *per capita* library fund of $1.08.

5. It is indispensable that the South devote itself to an evangelism in behalf of libraries in the same fashion it has to the evangelism in behalf of schools, roads, health, and agriculture. It is not sufficient that librarians alone gird themselves to this task, but rather that the public as a whole strive for this objective. It may be well to remind ourselves that progress in education, transportation, health, and agriculture has been achieved because the measures which have brought it about were vividly conceived by men from every walk of life, and were proclaimed and fought for on a thousand platforms.

THE MARYLAND COLONIZATION TRACTS

BY LAWRENCE C. WROTH

WHEN the settlement of Maryland was being planned by the first and second Lords Baltimore, the dew of wonder still lay fresh upon the unknown continent of the West. The imagination of Europe was yet playing with the vision of an empty, sun-bathed world, rich in material opportunity, richer in romantic suggestion. The mythical West, though a reality for more than a century, was still provoking thoughtful spirits with dreams of a new social order and with the promise of release for cabined human aspiration. Half a century later the magic had departed; then America had got into politics and economics, but in 1630 it was the stuff of dreams and a challenge to the spirit. The Maryland colonization tracts belong in this lyrical period of the great adventure.

It is necessary to begin a discussion of the Maryland promotion writings with a supposition that leads to the most tentative of conclusions. This procedure might have been avoided but for a weakness of human nature that affects all who own or who have in charge great collections of books and documents. It is a fact that the possession of a rare piece inevitably leads one to become an advocate of its claims to significance, and if more than its due is suggested to the honor of the Charles I edition of the *Charter of Maryland* that heads the subjoined list, it may be explained by the circumstance that one of the three known copies of the instrument in this form is found among the collections of the John Carter Brown Library. It is not altogether assertiveness, however, or pride of possession, that leads to the placing of this little-known tract in the first position. Simple caution be-

comes an impelling factor in the arrangement, for if reasons are few for supposing this edition of the *Charter* to have been printed in 1632, reasons for assigning it to a later date do not exist at all, and under the circumstances the careful bibliographer has no choice but to place it under the first year in which it might have appeared. One normally looks for the publication of a charter or other fundamental instrument soon after it has been granted, and it is probable that an edition of the *Charter of Maryland* in English came from the press in the months immediately following the passage of the instrument itself under the Great Seal in June, 1632. There are indeed three seventeenth century editions of the *Charter,*[1] but two of them are definitely of later years of publication. The Charles I edition alone is without bibliographical features that exclude it from consideration as an issue of the year 1632. There are, too, other bits of evidence that may be considered as further supporting its claim to priority in the list. It is, for example, not as full as other editions of the same translation in that it lacks one of the regularly used marginal captions. Furthermore, one of the known copies contains in a contemporary hand erasures and corrections that make for exactness and elegance in the translation, the sort of verbal improvement that might have been incorporated by its translator or by someone close to Lord Baltimore in the first copy of the first edition of the *Charter* to come from the printer.[2] It should be said that the presence

1. The known seventeenth century editions of the *Charter* are: (1) that which is here called the Charles I edition; (2) the edition occupying pages 1-25 of *A Relation of Maryland* of 1635; (3) a separate edition, undated, bearing at its head the royal arms of Charles II (copy in the John Carter Brown Library). There exists also a separate edition, undated, but with the typographical features of a later period, probably of the eighteenth century (copy in the John Carter Brown Library).

2. The copy described is in the possession of Benjamin Howell Griswold of Baltimore, described as item No. 1452 in the *Rare Americana* catalogue (1927) of Henry Stevens, Son and Stiles.

of the royal arms of Charles I at the head of the text helps not at all in determining the date. The royal arms surmounted by C and R were used throughout the reign of Charles I, laid by during the Commonwealth, and used again under Charles II until about the year 1670, when it became the custom to engrave a small figure 2 within the bight of the C as a mark of distinction between father and son.

It will be seen that there is very little to go upon in seeking the answer to this problem in priority. After all, though, a charter makes an easy and comfortable beginning for a list of colonization tracts, and it may be that no one will wish seriously to dislodge this Charles I edition of the *Charter* from its admittedly unstable position at the head of the Maryland list.

Proceeding with a necessary clearing of the ground an assumption is encountered that one might ordinarily hesitate to take issue with because of its appearance in the most erudite of works relating to the early history of Maryland. In Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America,*[3] it is taken for granted that a pamphlet there described entitled *Objections Answered Concerning Maryland* appeared in the year 1633. Father Hughes discovered among the Stonyhurst College manuscripts eight printed pages of text with the heading as given above,[4] and finding the matter of these pages especially pertinent to the events of 1633, the Jesuit historian assigned their publication to that year. He called attention indeed to the fact that these pages were numbered 9 to 16, but he seems to have failed to consider that such numbering implied the publication of the *Objections Answered* as a section of a larger tract. Especially did he fail to consider that this larger tract may have been

3. Text, I, 257-259; Documents. pt. 1, 10-15.

4. This material had been previously made use of by Bradley T. Johnson in his *Foundations of Maryland,* page 24 *et seq.* Mr. Johnson, however, used a transcript and was apparently of the belief that the original was a manuscript.

printed at a later date. In *A Maryland Tract of 1646*,[5] Lathrop C. Harper has shown that these pages, containing the *Objections Answered*, were part of the almost unknown tract *A Moderate and Safe Expedient*, published in London in 1646. The date of composition of the *Objections Answered* may well have been the year 1633, when Lord Baltimore needed most particularly to have his defense put in order against the attacks of his active and quite unscrupulous enemies, but it is certain that this form of an acute and learned document appeared in print and for another reason only in the year 1646. Happily the remaining Maryland colonization writings came into the world provided with dates, so that the bibliographer has nothing to do except describe them and, taking the series as a whole, emphasize the element of continuity that appears in it through the recent recognition of its earliest dated tract.

In 1908 Charles McLean Andrews and Frances G. Davenport, listed without comment in their valuable *Guide to the Minor London Archives*, a printed document entitled *A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland* as one of the possessions of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Westminster.[6] No one since then seems to have noticed that here was the record of a previously undescribed Maryland promotion tract of the sort commonly issued to advertise a new settlement, the type of prospectus until then unknown in the bibliography of Maryland beginnings. In the thorough search made by Margaret Shove Morriss for her *Colonial Trade in Maryland*,[7] this reference was encountered,

5. Published in *Bibliographical Essays, a Tribute to Wilberforce Eames*, pages 143-148.

6. Charles McLean Andrews and Frances G. Davenport, *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, page 339.

7. *Colonial Trade in Maryland*. ("Johns Hopkins Studies in Political and Social Science," Series XXXII, No. 3, 1914.)

the material of the tract was used and its title listed with a note in a bibliographical appendix, but still without recognition of its exceptional interest to the bibliographer. It remained for a collector, Willard A. Baldwin of New York, to read Dean Morriss' study and immediately to call attention to the significance of the *Declaration*. Through Mr. Baldwin's interest a facsimile publication of the tract is now in progress.[8]

A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Maryland is dated at the conclusion of its narrative portion, "February, 10. anno 1633." Its opening sentence refers to the passing of the Charter "in June last, 1632," and appended to it is a note in which the sailing of the "Arke of Mary-land" is announced for "the Eight of September next, 1633." It is obvious, therefore, that the date "February, 10. anno 1633" is in the new style, and one may regard the tract as a publication of the early spring, probably of March, 1633, new style. The matter of the tract is definitely that of the "Declaratio" found in the Jesuit Archives in Rome by Father William McSherry in 1832, and published since then several times in the original Latin and in English translations.[9] It is indeed an

8. See note to the second title in the ensuing list.

9. The collection of documents copied in Rome by Father McSherry, referred to here as the McSherry Codex, was first translated by N. C. Brooks and read at three meetings of the Maryland Historical Society in 1844 and 1845. Its publication without permission in 1846 as IV, No. 12 of Peter Force's "Collection of Historical Tracts" occasioned the amending of the Society's existing by-law to read in effect that all papers and translations read before the Society should become its property and be published only with its consent. It was apparently because of this incident that there appeared in 1847 separates of the Force tract No. 12 with the following title-page: *A Relation of the Colony of the Lord Baron of Baltimore, in Maryland, near Virginia; a Narrative of the First Voyage to Maryland, By the Rev. Father Andrew White.* [3 lines, seal of the Maryland Historical Society, 3 lines] *Translated by N. C. Brooks, A. M., Member of the Society.* Baltimore, 1847. Pages 1-47. As the Society's typographical seal, made from a cut with an unmistakable break in it, was employed on this title-page, it is likely that these separates were published by the organization as an assertion of its claim upon the material. In the volume, now in the Society, containing Brooks's manuscript, the former librarian of the institution, J. W. M. Lee, has written: "Translated for

English version, published in London as an advertising prospectus, of the Latin account of the proposed Maryland colony, sent by the English Provincial of the Society of Jesus to the General of the Order in Rome. The purpose of this transmittal of the Latin "Declaratio" was to secure from the General approval of the plan for sending a Jesuit mission with the Maryland expedition. Its author was probably Father Andrew White, and whether the Latin version preceded the English or the English the Latin is a problem of some delicacy and of relatively little importance in its outcome, for the two were prepared at approximately the same

Force's Tracts and a few copies struck off with a Baltimore imprint and the seal of the Society." This issue of the McSherry Codex has become very scarce, and, as assertions concerning it are usually incorrect, it has been thought desirable to record here the substance of this careful investigation of the matter made and communicated by Charles Fickus, the present acting librarian of the Maryland Historical Society. The Latin texts and a revision of this translation appeared in the *Woodstock Letters,* in 1872, I, 12-24, 71-80, 145-155; II, 1-13. A new translation [by J. Holmes Converse], edited by the Reverend E. A. Dalrymple, S.T.D., and published with Latin versions copied, sometimes incorrectly, from the original McSherry Codex, appeared as "Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication" No. 7, with the title *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam . . .*, Baltimore, 1874. The history of the McSherry Codex is found in this publication and in the note by Father Hughes appended to "Md. H.S.F. Publication" No. 35, *Calvert Papers, No. 3.* The several Latin documents which compose it are reprinted from the originals in the Jesuit Archives by Father Hughes in the *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (Documents, I, pt. I, see also Text I, *passim.*), where the original texts, corrupted by copyists, are restored by a learned hand. The translation of Brooks in the Force Tracts is preferable to that of Converse in "Md. H.S.F. Publication" No. 7, where because of a corruption in the Latin text of the "Declaratio" a serious error in stating the conditions of land tenure appears in the translation, entitled "An Account of the Colony," page 46. Discrepancies in the texts, however, are pointed out in the note on page 124. The "Declaratio Coloniae Domini Baronis de Baltamore in Terra Mariae," the Latin version of the printed *Declaration,* is given in full from the original source by Father Hughes, *History etc.* (Documents, I, pt. I, pages 145-149), with the following reference: "General Archives, S.J. *Anglia Historia,* iv, pp. 877-880. Three and a half closely written pages, large folio, contemporary copy, the paper being, not that of Rome, but of England or Flanders; the hand the same as that which wrote out other documents at this time in England, apparently Father Alacambe's; and the endorsement seemingly in the hand of the General, Mutius Vitelleschi. There are some clerical errors in the copy." In the "Md. H.S.F. Publication," No. 35, referred to above, Father Hughes, pages 57-58, corrects from the original twelve readings of the Latin text in "Md. H.S.F. Publication," No. 7.

period, probably by the same person, for distinct and definitely understood purposes. Because of the early publication of the material forming the McSherry Codex, the printed tract adds little to our knowledge of the subject it treats. Its significance is found in the fact of its publication in 1633 in printed form. There has always existed a conception of the first Maryland settlement as the result of a dark and secret flight to sanctuary of persecuted Catholics. The mere fact of the appearance in print of a prospectus in 1633, however, shows that Lord Baltimore went about the recruiting of his expedition in the manner of colony promoters of all time, and in the note appended to the *Declaration* the date and the port of departure of the "Arke of Maryland" are advertised for all men to read.[10]

The *Declaration* is distinguished by the zeal for souls and by the easy, fresh literary expression that mark the *Relation* of 1634, a publication long attributed to the hand of Father Andrew White, who as head of the Jesuit mission accompanied the first Maryland expedition. This *Relation* has hitherto been regarded as the earliest of the printed tracts of certain date relating to Maryland, and though its priority has now been overthrown by the recognition of the *Declaration* as the true claimant for the position, its intrinsic interest can never be less than when it stood unchallenged at the head of the list.

A Relation of the beginnings of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-land, published in London in 1634, exists in only two known copies. Its rarity has been the cause of a continued misunderstanding of its contents that traces to its so-called reprinting in 1865, from the copy in the British Museum, as Shea's "Early Southern Tracts," No. 1, under the

10. The *Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Mary-land* is discussed at length in the introduction to the publication described in the note to the second title in the ensuing list of tracts.

editorship of Brantz Mayer of Baltimore. In this reprint appeared only the actual narrative of the settlement: the attestation to the truth of the narrative and the "Conditions of the Plantation," occupying pages 11-14, were omitted without indication of their existence. Because of this large and generous conception of editorial privilege, common enough in that day, the full interest and importance of the tract has been realized only by those who have seen one of the two original copies. There has never been a reissue of this rich contribution to the literature of colonial America, one of the earliest, and by no means the least considerable of English books to be written on American soil. One finds in this narrative something of that sense of wonder and fresh elation that marks the best of the early writings on America. Its author is genuinely moved by the spiritual potentialities of the future in the new land, and, naïve and sensitive to his physical surroundings, he seems to be sniffing the morning air and drinking in the beauty of a land where spring comes swift and urgent with promise. Here in his relation are love and the zest of living and a great hope. This second Maryland colonization tract is something far indeed from the production of a London hack writer employed by a company promoter to string superlatives upon a slender thread of fact and incident.

The matter of the *Relation* of 1634 exists in three contemporary forms: the Latin "Relatio," sent as a report to the General of the Society of Jesus and found in a contemporary copy in the Jesuit Archives in Rome; a manuscript original version in English sent on May 30, 1634, from Point Comfort in Virginia by Governor Leonard Calvert to Sir Richard Lechford, a business associate in London; and the English printed version of 1634. The Latin "Relatio," the chief document in the McSherry Codex, has been reprinted several times with translations into English, and the Lechford ver-

sion has appeared twice in printed form in the past thirty years.[11] It has generally been assumed that the three versions derive from a journal of the voyage and settlement kept by Father Andrew White, and, furthermore, that it was he who made the successive redactions. Since the discovery in 1894 of the Lechford version there has been a tendency to suppose that the printed tract related to it as a copy revised and amended for publication, but a careful study of the two shows the printed version to be, not only a different redaction, but a superior document from the standpoint of the historian. There is no gainsaying, indeed, the interest of the Lechford version as the only contemporary manuscript in English of this famous American document, but its manuscript character does not necessarily place it upon equal terms with the printed version. It is not always possible to convince the aspirant for doctor's honors that in some cases the contemporary printed form of a document may be of greater value than the manuscript version, but it is a fact, no less, and this seems to be one of the cases in point.

In a textual examination of the three versions that may easily be repeated in detail, thirty-three variations in word and in sense were selected and analyzed. The result showed that the Lechford version followed the Latin "Relatio" in thirteen cases; the *Relation* of 1634 followed the Latin "Relatio" in fourteen cases; and the *Relation* of 1634 agreed with the Lechford version in only six cases.

It is not intended here to claim priority for one or the other of the existing versions, but simply to show that the two

11. The "Relatio" is found as the first document in the various forms of the McSherry Codex listed in note 9, above; the Lechford version appeared first in *Calvert Papers, Number 3,* "Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication," No. 35, 1899, pages 26-45, edited by C[layton] C. H[all], with notes by Father Thomas Hughes, S.J. It was republished in 1910 in Mr. Hall's *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684,* in the "Original Narratives of Early American History," edited by J. Franklin Jameson, pages 29-45.

English forms of the document differ in many details and to suggest that each derived separately from another version, and that this was probably the Latin "Relatio."

Consideration of the nature of the differences between the three versions brings out the fact that the *Relation* of 1634 was printed from a text prepared with more care than the Lechford version and with greater detail than that version or than the Latin "Relatio." The variations in sense and in matter found in the three forms almost invariably point to the printed *Relation* as the most important historical source, and this is true even though the interesting details of the long and perilous voyage itself were omitted from a tract designed primarily to encourage adventurers. In respect to the actual settlement, however, it presents the fullest and most detailed account of the events. The date of reaching port in Virginia is correctly given;[12] the names conferred upon the geographical features of the new country are recorded in greater number; the story of the fear of the Indians for the life of their emperor is more detailed; the erection of a palisade is mentioned; the visit of the King of Patuxent is described at length; a page or more is devoted to the progress made in planting, building, and fortifying; and the account is definitely dated "27 May 1634."[13] In all these features, the printed *Relation* gives either fuller information or information not touched upon in either of the manuscript versions. In it, too, the narrative is followed by a page containing an attestation to its truth signed by several of the adventurers who had returned with the first ship, and this in turn is followed

12. Both the "Relatio" and the Lechford version have it that the expedition reached Virginia on February 27, remained there eight or nine days and entered the Chesapeake again on March 3. The printed *Relation* gives the date of arrival at Point Comfort as February 24.

13. The "Relatio" is undated and the Lechford version also is without other evidence of date than the fact that it was sent in a letter from Point Comfort, dated May 30, 1634.

by the all important "Conditions of the Plantation."[14] One comes to look upon the printed version as the form of the relation prepared with a view to publication after Lord Baltimore, waiting impatiently in London, should have learned from it the outcome of his great adventure. The authorship of the Latin "Relatio," and hence of the first published account of the Maryland settlement, has been attributed to Father Andrew White by the common agreement of successive editors. Nothing has been found to add to the evidence adduced on this point by Dalrymple, Hall, and Hughes.[15]

The account of the first Maryland expedition described here was used in a greatly condensed form as the first chapter of the Maryland colonization tract found next in the list. *A Relation of Maryland* of 1635 is one of the most elaborate publications issued in promotion of any English American colony. In addition to the brief account of the successful settlement of the year before, it contained a full description of the country and a prognostication of its certain reward to industry; the outline of a generous policy toward the Indian inhabitants; the conditions of land tenure, newly revised; detailed instructions, taken almost verbatim from John Smith's *Generall Historie,* as to seed, clothing, arms, tools, and agricultural implements needed by intending settlers; the Charter in English and a map of the country. This *Relation* of 1635 is found in several collections; it has been twice re-

14. The different forms of the conditions of plantation, that is, of land tenure, described by Lord Baltimore in his letter of instruction of August 8, 1636 ("Archives of Maryland," III, 47-48) may now be examined in the order of their contemporary publication in the *Declaration* of 1633, the *Relation* of 1634 and the *Relation* of 1635.

15. The authorship of the "Relatio" is discussed by Hall in *Calvert Papers, No. 3,* see note 11, above, pages 6-9, and by Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America,* Text, I, *passim.* The evidence of the Alegambe (1643) and of the Nathaniel Southwell (1676) editions of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* is not conclusive, though each, pages 32 and 60, respectively, mentions an "Expeditionem" in the list of White's writings relating to Maryland.

printed and so often described that further discussion of it seems unnecessary at this time.

Until lately, Maryland colonization writing has been regarded as coming to an end with this admirable and sagely presented *Relation* of 1635, but it is now known that more than a decade after the appearance of this tract circumstances forced the publication of another pamphlet that must be regarded as a promotion tract even though it may be said to possess greater interest as a political document. In 1645 and 1646, the Parliamentary party in Maryland, led by the so-called "pirate," Richard Ingle, took possession of the Government and compelled Leonard Calvert to seek sanctuary in Virginia. It is likely that Lord Baltimore had not learned of the recovery of the colony, by his brother's effective *coup de main* in December, 1646, when he became aware of the measure pending in the House of Lords for the repeal of his Charter. On March 4, 1646/47, he asked the House to postpone action until the yearly ship from Maryland, expected before June, should bring him the information of events needed in the preparation of his defense.[16] It was probably in this crisis that he issued the tract called *A Moderate and Safe Expedient,* dated 1646, which is at once a defense of his government and a plea to the Parliament to make easier the emigration of Catholics to Maryland by permitting them to sell their English estates before departure. Because of its indefinite title this publication seems to have escaped attention as a Maryland tract until it was so described by Lathrop C. Harper in 1924.[17] It has already been mentioned here in speaking of its second section, the *Objections Answered Concerning Maryland*. Though the argument found in this second section of the book was obviously composed at an earlier period, probably in 1633 when the Virginia Company

16. Archives of Maryland, III, 173, 180-181; 164-183, *passim*.
17. See note 5, above.

made its first attack upon the Maryland Charter, its cool, logical reasoning may have been regarded as equally well adapted to meet the crisis of 1646. Whether the *Objections Answered* averted the action of the Lords, or whether other representations were made by Baltimore is not known, but it is certain that the case against the Charter was heard of no more in Parliament. The authorship of neither part of *A Moderate and Safe Expedient* is surely determined, though one feels certain somehow that the trained Jesuit mind was back of the *Objections Answered*. One feels equally certain that it was not the mind of the fervid, candid Father White, whose Superior once said of him that though he excelled in talent he was of a medium grade of prudence and did not excel in judgment, and further that spiritual affairs and not temporalities were his province. It may be that the more judicious mind of Father Blount, English Provincial in 1633, conceived and wrote this excellent defense of the Catholic project. Father Hughes is silent on the authorship of the *Objections Answered,* except to affirm strongly that it was not the work of White, and as he was unaware of the existence of *A Moderate and Safe Expedient* he naturally makes no attribution of authorship to that part of the pamphlet. That piece contains, however, a bold suggestion for increasing the population of Maryland and for alleviating the position of the English Catholics, and one would like to know the identity of its ingenious author.

With this exceptionally interesting writing, political document as much as colonization tract, the promotion literature of Maryland comes to an end. The colony was well established now, growing, when left in peace, by natural increment, and the need for advertisement of the sort described had ceased to exist. The next writings that refer to it specifically are concerned with the political disorders that arose in the ensuing decade of its history, and as these form a group,

distinct in purpose from those issued by the Proprietary to encourage the settlement of his colony, they have no place in the present discussion of the tracts that treat of Maryland beginnings.

The John Carter Brown Library,
15 December 1928.

THE TRACTS DESCRIBED

[*Royal arms of Charles I*] The Charter of Mary-land.

Sm. 8vo. A-C^4; 12 leaves; pages 1-23. Leaf measures 6.9 x 4.5 inches. *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library,* II, pt. I, page 243, under the year 1632. *Rare Americana* catalogue (1927) of Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles, No. 1452. The text, with the royal arms of Charles I at the head, has the caption title given above. The cut of the arms here employed is not found among the reproductions in the *Bibliotheca Lindesiana,* VI, "Proclamations," II, pages 497-540. The text, with the usual differences of spelling found in the productions of different printing houses, is the same as that of the "Charter" occupying pages 1-25 of the *Relation* of 1635. This translation appears also in the separately printed *Charter of Maryland* headed by the royal arms of Charles II, described in the *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library,* II, pt. II, page 473, under the year 1657 [*sic.*]. It is found without change in another separately printed *Charter of Maryland* in the John Carter Brown Library, without arms at the head, without date, but bearing the typographical features of a later period. It was reprinted from the *Relation of Maryland* of 1635 in the *Charter of Maryland, together with the Debates and Proceedings of the Upper and Lower House of Assembly,* Philadelphia, 1725. In this edition even the initial letter of the Charter in the *Relation* of 1635 was copied by Bradford. The same text appears also in Almon's *Charters of the British Colonies in America* [1775], and in Lucas's *Charters of the Old British Colonies in America,* 1850.

Copies:

John Carter Brown Library. Purchased in August, 1911, from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles. In the original paper cover enclosed in a modern case.

Benjamin Howell Griswold of Baltimore. Purchased in 1927 from Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles. In the original paper cover, with the corrections as described in the foregoing text; endorsed: "Charter of Maryland English coppy corrected." Enclosed in a modern case.

Herschel V. Jones [?], not included in the catalogue of the collection, *Adventures in Americana,* 1928.

[*Caption title*]: A Declaration of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land, nigh vpon Virginia: manifesting the Nature, Quality, Condition, and rich Vtilities it contayneth.

Sm. 4to. A^4; 4 leaves; pages 1-8; page 7: conclusion of "Declaration," dated "February, 10. anno 1633." Leaf measures 6.5 x 4.5 inches.

Described in the introduction by Lawrence C. Wroth to the facsimile issued with the title *A Declaration of the Lord Baltimore's Plantation in Maryland . . . from the only known copy in the possession of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster*. Baltimore, 1929. One hundred copies printed through the interest of Willard Augustine Baldwin.

Copies:

Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Westminster, London.

A Relation of the successefull beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's Plantation in Mary-land. Being an extract of certaine Letters written from thence, by some of the Aduenturers, to their friends in England. To which is added, the Conditions of plantation propounded by his Lordship for the second voyage intended this present yeere, 1634. [*type-ornament*] Anno. Dom. 1634.

Sm. 4to. A-B^4; 8 leaves; pages [i-ii], 1-14; signature B_2 wrongly marked A_2; page [i]: title, verso blank; pages 1-10: "A Relation of the successefull beginnings of the Lord Baltemore's plantation in Mary-land."; page 10: dated, "From $S^{t.}$ Maries in Mary-land, 27. May, 1634."; page 11: attestation to the truth of the whole Relation, signed, "Captaine Edward Wintour. Captaine William Humber. Robert Smithson. Robert Sympson."; pages 12-14: "The Conditions of the plantation.", dated on page 14, "15. Iuly 1634." Leaf measures 7.1 x 5.4 inches.

Copies:

British Museum.

John Carter Brown Library. Purchased from Henry Stevens before 1846.

A Relation of Maryland; Together, VVith [*in a bracket*] A Map of the Countrey, The Conditions of Plantation, His Majesties Charter to the Lord Baltemore, translated into English. [*end of bracket*] These Bookes are to bee had, at Master William Peasley Esq; his house, on the back-side of Drury-Lane, neere the Cock-pit Playhouse; or in his absence, at Master Iohn Morgans house in high Holbourne, over against the Dolphin, London. September the 8. Anno Dom. 1635.

Sm. 4to. A-G^4, H^2, A-C^4, D^2; 44 leaves, of which A$_1$ of the first series is blank, A$_3$ and A$_4$ are marked A$_2$ and A$_3$, A$_1$ and D$_2$ of the second series, probably blank, are lacking and D$_3$ is wrongly marked C$_3$; pages [i-iv], 1-56, [i-ii], 1-6, 9-25, [26-28]; pages 38, 39, 42, 43 are wrongly numbered 22, 23, 26, 27 respectively; page [iii]: title, verso blank; pages 1-55: text of the *Relation;* page 56: "The names of the Gentlemen adventurers that are gone in person to this Plantation."; pages 1-6, 9-25 (second series): "The Charter of Mary Land." Folding map with inscription "Noua Terrae-Mariae tabula," signed T. Cecill sculp:. Leaf measures, Church No. 432, 6 1/16 x 5 inches.

It was reprinted "With a Prefatory Note and Appendix, by Francis L. Hawks, D.D. . . . New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865, pages vii, 103." (See Sabin, No. 45,315.) It appears also, pages 63-112, in *Narratives of Early Maryland* in Jameson's "Original Narratives of Early American History."

Copies:

British Museum (3, one lacking the map); Harvard (no map); John Carter Brown (map in facsimile); Lenox (2, one lacking the map); New York Historical Society; Cornell University; Library of Congress; Newberry; Maryland Historical Society (no map and two leaves in facsimile); William L. Clements Library.

A Moderate and Safe Expedient to remove Jealousies and Feares, of any danger, or prejudice to this State, by the Roman Catholicks of this Kingdome, and to mitigate the censure of too much severity towards them. VVith a great advantage of Honour and Profit to this State and Nation. [*type ornament*] Printed in the Year of our Lord, 1646.

Sm. 4to. A-B^4; 8 leaves; pages 1-16; page 1: title, verso blank; pages 3-8: "A moderate and safe Expedient, &c."; pages 9-16: "Obiections Answered touching Mariland." Leaf measures 7 x 5.4 inches.

Copies:

John Carter Brown Library.

Willard A. Baldwin. Purchased from Lathrop C. Harper in 1925.

Stonyhurst College (pages 9-16 only).

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